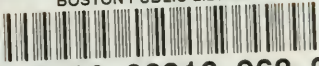


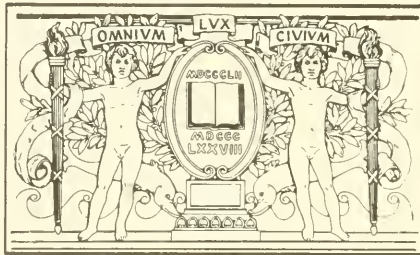
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RURAL FAMILIES ON RELIEF

By Carle C. Zimmerman
and Nathan L. Whetten



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**FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
AND THE ERA OF THE NEW DEAL**

GENERAL EDITOR: FRANK FREIDEL
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**RURAL FAMILIES
ON RELIEF**

Division of Research Work Projects Administration

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Works Progress Administration
Division of Social Research
Research Monograph XVII

RURAL FAMILIES
ON RELIEF

By Carle C. Zimmerman
and Nathan L. Whetten

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RURAL FAMILIES
ON RELIEF

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

F. C. Harrington, *Administrator*
Corrington Gill, *Assistant Administrator*

DIVISION OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

Howard B. Myers, *Director*

RURAL FAMILIES ON RELIEF

By
Carle C. Zimmerman
and
Nathan L. Whetten



RESEARCH MONOGRAPH XVII

1938

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, WASHINGTON

Letter of Transmittal

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., December 27, 1938.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit an analysis of the social characteristics of rural families receiving assistance under the general relief program. The report evaluates the various characteristics of rural families on relief in terms of their effect on the families' need for aid. The findings of this analysis will be of distinct value to relief administrators in rural areas. At the same time it is a contribution to the general study of rural families in the lower income groups.

Not only are rural relief families found to differ in their characteristics according to their position in the local rural community, but, in addition, even wider differences exist among the various geographical areas of the country. The predominant industries determine the extent to which the head of a family will be able to care for his dependents continuously, and the cultural traditions largely determine the composition and solidarity of the family unit. Four factors are of particular importance in determining the incidence and amount of relief for rural families: (1) The number of employable members in the family and their capabilities; (2) unemployment because of the business cycle; (3) unemployment and underemployment because of the weather cycle; and (4) social action for improving the standard of living.

The study was made in the Division of Social Research under the direction of Howard B. Myers, Director of the Division. The data were collected under the supervision of A. R. Mangus and T. C. McCormick. Acknowledgment is made of the cooperation of the State Supervisors and Assistant State Supervisors of Rural Research who were in direct charge of the field work. The analysis of the data was made under the supervision of T. J. Woolter, Jr., Coordinator of Rural Research.

The report was prepared by Carle C. Zimmerman of Harvard University and Nathan L. Whetten of Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station, with the assistance of Wendell H. Bash of Harvard University. It was edited by Ellen Winston of the Division of Social Research.

Respectfully submitted.

CORRINGTON GILL,
Assistant Administrator.

COL. F. C. HARRINGTON,
Works Progress Administrator.

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Rural Families on Relief

INTRODUCTION

IN 1930 there were approximately 30 million families in the United States.¹ Of these, 17,372,500 were classified as urban; 6,604,600, as rural-farm; and 5,927,500, as rural-nonfarm. Thus, about 42 percent of America's families were classified as rural, 22 percent being farm and 20 percent being nonfarm.

Since 1930 more than one out of four of these rural families have been forced to seek public or private assistance. In January 1935, for instance, almost 2 million of them received general relief grants. The purpose of this study is to give a general description of rural relief families and to point out some of their characteristic features. It summarizes information concerning their occupational origin, their size and composition, the age and sex characteristics of the heads, the marital condition of the heads, the number and types of dependents, the composition of the families from the standpoint of relationship, their fertility rates, their employability, employment, and amount of relief, and the mobility and education of their members. These various factors are analyzed on the basis of geographical distribution. Information is given about the racial backgrounds of the families, their former agricultural experience, and their forms of land tenure if they have been engaged in agriculture.

The data for this monograph are from the records of the Rural Section, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration. The materials consist of information gathered by means of a survey

¹ "The term *family*, as it is used in the tabulation of the results of the 1930 Census, is limited in the main to what might be called private families, excluding the institutions and hotel or boarding-house groups which have been counted as families in prior censuses. A family may therefore be defined in general as a group of persons related either by blood or by marriage or adoption, who live together as one household, usually sharing the same table. Single persons living alone are counted as families, however, as are a few small groups of unrelated persons sharing the same living accommodations as 'partners.' Households reporting more than 10 lodgers are classified as boarding or lodging houses rather than as families. Two or more related persons occupying permanent quarters in a hotel are counted as a private family rather than as a part of the hotel group." Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., 1933, p. 401.

covering 138 counties, representative of 9 major agricultural areas,² and 116 New England townships (fig. 26, p. 112). The data were taken as of June 1935 with the exceptions of those for education and marital condition. These were taken as of October 1935 since items to secure such information were not included on the June schedules.³

² Eastern Cotton, Western Cotton, Appalachian-Ozark, Lake States Cut-Over, Hay and Dairy, Corn Belt, Spring Wheat, Winter Wheat, and Ranching.

³ For a detailed discussion of the methodology of the survey, see Mangus, A. R., *Changing Aspects of Rural Relief*, Research Monograph XIV. Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1938, appendix B. For the meaning of terms used in this monograph, see appendix A.



Farm Security Administration (Lec).

On Relief.

SUMMARY

RURAL FAMILIES in the United States were subjected to a number of unusual forces during the period 1930-1935 which resulted in severe economic distress in all sections. Some regions suffered directly from only one force or received the diffuse effects of several. In other regions the full brunt of various forces focused on the area and resulted in the almost complete collapse of normal economic and social activities.

While rural distress was caused in considerable part by long-range factors, the effects of the business depression were nevertheless of great importance in the rural relief situation. The drop in the price of farm commodities, because of cyclical fluctuations in the money market, was only one factor in this situation as it affected the farmer and the village dweller. Included also were price movements resulting from the weather and from crop conditions in foreign countries and the long-time trend in agricultural production and exportation. Thus, all of the agricultural price movements resulted in a decline in prices and sales. This included both the drop in value and quantity of exported goods and the change in the urban market with the depression.

Another force bearing on the rural population and helping to determine relief needs, which can also be identified with the business depression, was the change in nonagricultural work opportunities which accompanied the decline in industry and commerce. This affected primarily the large numbers of part-time farmers who live in densely settled and relatively urbanized areas. These families were forced to a more complete dependence on the soil and to a more self-sufficient type of farm economy.

Partly connected with the business depression and partly dependent upon a long-time trend has been the decline in the utilization of natural resources. Activity in isolated coal and iron mining areas has decreased or stopped entirely, and the lumber industry has been sharply curtailed. These are typical examples of industries which give employment to rural families either on a part-time or full-time basis. In some areas the depression coincided approximately with the exhaustion of natural resources so that the shutdown has been permanent rather than temporary. For the most part rural families suffering under the pressure of these forces are located in mountain and wooded areas.

A factor which was not connected with the business depression was the drought. Short-time cyclical movements of rainfall and dry weather have not been unusual on the plains of the great West, but in 1934 and 1936 there were droughts which have been unequalled for both extensity and severity during this generation. The most extreme effects of the drought were found in a belt running north and south through the two Wheat Areas and bordering both the Corn Belt and Western Cotton Areas, but minor effects of the drought were found in almost every section of the country.

TYPES OF FARM FAMILIES

Aside from their regional incidence, the forces leading to the need for assistance were found to affect rural families in different ways and different degrees according to the type of farming in which they were engaged. Commercial farmers may be accurately described as small-scale entrepreneurs. All of their efforts are concentrated on the production of cash crops, generally only one, and usually they grow comparatively little for home use. They live under relatively the same type of money economy as city people, and their prosperity is determined by the price of these goods in the market. It is also significant that for most of the products included under this type of production the price is largely determined by the surplus which is exported. Since they are goods of relatively inelastic demand and subject to wide fluctuations in supply, such products at times undergo violent fluctuations in price in accordance with weather and economic conditions. Consequently, the business depression and the decline in the exportation of foreign products have been the most important factors in every area in the need for relief of commercial farmers. One governmental action which has ameliorated conditions for these farmers has been the agricultural adjustment program. As a result relief needs have not been as extensive for these farmers as they otherwise would have been.

A second category of farm families may be called noncommercial. It consists largely of those families which combine part-time farming for home consumption with part-time industrial or commercial work and those which lead a relatively self-sufficing life in the more isolated areas. For these families the most important influence has been the decline in industry in the isolated areas together with the depletion of natural resources. This includes also the decline in employment in and around cities. These families are influenced to a certain extent, however, by the decline in the agricultural market since they sell their surplus for cash. These families are helped relatively little by agricultural price-raising.

Cutting across both the commercial and noncommercial groups, a third category of the agricultural population may be called the chron-

ically poverty-stricken. This includes chiefly the farm laborers in all areas and the sharecroppers and tenants of the Cotton Areas. These agricultural groups work for commercial farmers and seldom produce much food for home consumption. They are directly affected by the prosperity of the farmers who hire them so that their prosperity and depression are concurrent with those of commercial producers. Moreover, it is safe to say that in the current situation the troubles of commercial farmers have been passed on to these groups and accentuated in the process.

ANALYSIS OF RURAL RELIEF FAMILIES BY AREA

Although the diversity of occupations and the different types of families within occupations have been repeatedly pointed out, there is still a tendency to think of the rural population as a homogeneous unit. Since *rural* was defined for purposes of this study as including the open country and villages of less than 2,500 inhabitants, it is easy to see that nearly all classes and all occupations were included in one way or another. The rural relief families not only differed in their characteristics according to their position in the local rural community but also even wider differences existed among the various geographical areas of the country. Major differences in the average family on relief in June 1935 were found, for example, between the Eastern Cotton and Spring Wheat Areas. In addition it was found that, when classified on the basis of type-of-farming area, relatively homogeneous groups in the rural population were set up, even if all the occupations were included. Consequently, the average family in different sections of the country was studied on the basis of a regional analysis, resulting in a better understanding of the peculiar problems in each section.

In the Eastern Cotton Area more of the relief families were engaged in agriculture than the average for the country as a whole, but the proportion was still less than 50 percent. However, because of its comparatively slight urbanization, agriculture and family solidarity still set the prevailing tone. The relative multiplicity of social classes within agriculture, including owners, tenants, croppers, and laborers, determines a social stratification which is more pronounced than in other agricultural areas. The relatively small size of the average relief family (3.7 persons) was due partly to the splitting of plantation families and partly to the fact that the median age (43.7 years) of the head of the family was less than for many other areas. Dependent family members were found in about the same proportions as in the country as a whole, but there were more broken families. The excessively high mobility within short distances and the low level of formal education are two of the factors leading to an unusually low material standard of living. Considering all factors, however, this area has

preserved its social vitality to a greater extent than have many of the more wealthy sections.

In the Western Cotton Area more of the relief families (54.3 percent) were customarily engaged in agriculture. The average family was a little larger than in the Eastern Cotton Area (3.8 persons) but was still smaller than the average for the country. The splitting of plantation families was probably more widely practiced here than in the older and more traditional East, and here also the heads of families were relatively young (41.7 years of age). Slightly more of these families were normal families consisting of husband and wife or husband, wife, and children than in the Eastern Cotton Area. Although they had more dependents, this did not result from an unduly higher birth rate. In many ways material standards are slightly higher in the Western Cotton Area, but the improvement in material levels has meant a regression or at least no advance in the stability and vitality of social relations.

In the Appalachian-Ozarks is found the best example of self-sufficing farm family living. Four out of ten of the heads of rural relief families were customarily employed in agriculture. Here the average family was the largest (4.3 persons) of any area with the exception of the Spring Wheat Area. The fertility of the rural relief population was the highest of any of the areas surveyed. Although families in this area frequently have a meager existence, a minimum living is assured to them as long as they remain on the land. The chief function of this area continues to be the production of new workers for the cities.

The Corn Belt is a relatively prosperous and highly commercialized area. Here corn is produced either for sale directly or for the feeding of livestock. Commercial production is dominant, and agriculture is on a relatively large scale. The average head of a rural relief family was 43.5 years of age, and 4 out of 10 heads were engaged in agriculture. The tendency toward a small family system is evident; and, although there was a high proportion of normal families, the fertility rate was below the average. In this area farm families as a whole have achieved a level of living seldom paralleled in agricultural history, but the social system does not give great evidence of stability, and the farm family is not maintaining its strength and vitality.

The Hay and Dairy Area cuts through some of the most highly urbanized sections of the country. It forms a belt from the Atlantic seaboard to the fertile lands of Wisconsin which supplies dairy and other products demanded by the highly industrialized and commercialized culture of that section of the country. Only a small proportion of agriculturalists (28.9 percent) was found among the relief families in this area. The median family was about the same size as the average for the country, but the head was about 2 years

older on the average. Although 76.0 percent of the rural relief families were normal families, the birth rate was lower than for all areas surveyed. Since most workers gain their living in nonagricultural occupations and since most of the farmers are directly dependent upon the prosperity of the urban market for the sale of their products, the problems of this area are essentially the same as, or are ultimately tied up with, those of the contiguous cities.

The Lake States Cut-Over Area is made up of isolated farming sections and mining communities. Only 26.0 percent of the heads of rural relief families were agriculturalists, and the problems are in many ways different from those in the neighboring Hay and Dairy Area. Its recent settlement, its relative cultural heterogeneity, its isolation, and the depletion of its natural resources are all factors which help to determine its extremely high relief rate, its meager standard of living, and its as yet unstable culture.

Although there are differences between the two Wheat Areas, in contrast with other agricultural areas they present many similarities. A higher proportion of the families is engaged in agriculture than in other areas, with the exception of the Western Cotton Area, and most of this agriculture is of the extensive, commercial type. Like the Corn Belt, the Wheat Areas have had periods of great material prosperity; educational standards are advanced; and material comforts are highly valued. However, the comparatively recent settlement and development of the Wheat Areas, the ethnic heterogeneity, the high rates of social mobility, and the wide fluctuations in climatic conditions are all factors leading to a social instability which markedly affected relief rates.

In the extensiveness of its agricultural production, the Ranching Area is but a step removed from the Wheat Areas. However, mining and lumbering occupations raise the proportion of nonagricultural workers and help account for the large proportion of nonfamily groups in the rural relief population. In many respects this area presents problems which are different from those in other areas, but the probability is that these differences in family statistics are influenced particularly by factors associated with an area of new settlement.

The New England Area represents a further intensification of the factors found in the Hay and Dairy Area. Urbanization has proceeded farther, and the rural culture is even more highly commercialized and industrialized. Only one out of eight of the rural relief families in this area in June 1935 was engaged in agriculture, and the proportion of nonagricultural families in the relief population was higher than in any other area surveyed. This is due both to the large number of local rural industries and to the presence of large numbers of city workers living in the surrounding countryside.

OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN OF THE HEADS OF RURAL RELIEF FAMILIES

Agricultural occupations accounted for about the same proportion of the heads of rural relief families in June 1935 as did the nonagricultural occupations, 40.6 percent as compared with 41.2 percent. Considering that relief represented only one of four public measures to assist agriculture, it is disheartening that so many farm families had to have this form of assistance. The proportion of agriculturalists among the heads of rural relief families varied from more than two out of three in the Spring Wheat Area to one out of eight in New England.

Among the agriculturalists there were two and one-half times as many farm operator as farm laborer families on relief. This is not surprising since there are considerably more than twice as many farm operators as hired farm laborers in the United States. Within the farm operator group, however, tenant families constituted a greater proportion of the relief cases than did farm owner families although the country as a whole contains about three farm owners for every two tenants.

Unskilled laborers accounted for by far the largest proportion of heads of nonagricultural families. In New England there were also a large number of relief families whose heads were skilled and semi-skilled workers.

Families whose heads were nonworkers accounted for 15.6 percent of all relief cases, reflecting the tendency for relief rolls to include a large number of families that for various reasons contain no breadwinner. In 2.5 percent of the cases the head of the family had no usual occupation.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HEADS OF RURAL RELIEF FAMILIES

The average head of a rural relief family was in the prime of life, the early forties. Village heads, on the whole, were about 2 years older than those in the open country. The heads of families in New England had the highest average age (46.6 years), while the lowest average age was found in the Winter Wheat Area (39.0 years). The median age of heads of agricultural families on relief was about the same as that of heads of nonagricultural families. Farm owners, however, had the highest average age of any occupational group on relief (46.5 years). On the other hand, farm laborers were the youngest group, averaging only 36.4 years. Among the nonagriculturalists the skilled laborers with an average age of 43.7 years had the highest average of any subgroup. Negro family heads on relief were much older than white heads on the average. In the Eastern Cotton Area the difference was 4.9 years and in the Western Cotton Area 7.5 years.

The western areas of extensive, commercialized agriculture had the smallest proportions of rural relief families with female heads while the southern areas, including the Eastern and Western Cotton and the Appalachian-Ozark Areas, had the highest proportions of such families. An exception to this rule was found in the Ranching Area which ranked with the South in the proportion of families with female heads. Significant differences also existed between village and open country residents in that almost half again as many village heads of rural relief families were women as was the case among open country heads.

Most of the male heads of relief families were married, while most of the female heads were either unmarried or had had their homes broken by divorce, separation, or death. For all areas the highest proportion of female heads married was 15.7 percent for the age group 45-64 years, while the lowest proportion was 0.6 percent for those aged 65 years and over. In contrast, the highest proportion married among the male heads was 90.9 percent in the age group 25-34 years, and the lowest was 61.5 percent in the age group 65 years and over. The proportion of family heads that was married was greater in the open country than in the villages, while the proportion of widowed, divorced, or separated heads tended to be greater in the villages. Differences in marital condition among the areas were consistent with differences in social and economic backgrounds. The greater industrialization of New England and the North has led to a greater participation in industry by women, and consequently the emancipation of women has reached its most advanced stages in these regions. Accompanying this emancipation is a rapidly rising divorce rate and a general disintegration of former social rules which have regulated the distribution of rights and duties of the sexes.

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF RURAL RELIEF FAMILIES

The problem of the size and composition of relief families is important to relief programs from a number of points of view, but principally because large families, or those with numerous dependents and few gainfully employed or employable, may need relief more frequently and in larger amounts than smaller families or those with relatively more productive units.

The median size of the rural relief family in June 1935 was 3.9 members. The open country families were larger than those in the villages. Averages, however, do not give an adequate picture of the situation with respect to size of family. Of all the rural households receiving relief in June 1935, 9.9 percent were one-person households. This was a 2 percent greater proportion of one-person households than was found for the whole rural United States in the 1930 Census (7.7 percent). Since severe economic depressions usually tend to

increase social solidarity, at least for a time, it would seem from these data that the proportion of one-person households receiving relief was very much greater than could be expected from a normal sample of the rural population. Further comparisons with census data suggest that a larger proportion of rural relief families consisted of six persons or more, whereas a larger proportion of families in the general population consisted of two or three members. Families with four or five members were found in about equal proportions among both relief families and families in the general population.

Rural relief families had relatively more young members (children under 16 years of age) than are found in the general rural population, and they contained a smaller proportion of adults of working age.

DEPENDENT AGE GROUPS

Four out of five of the rural relief families contained persons in the dependent age groups, i. e., persons under 16 years of age or 65 years of age and over. Three out of five relief families had children under 16 years of age but no one over 64 years; one-eighth of the families had aged individuals 65 years of age and over but no children under 16; while one out of twenty families contained both children and aged persons. These proportions varied somewhat among the agricultural areas of the country and were related to the type of economy and the "age" of the area.

In general a large number of dependents in a family may be an indication of a prolific population, where a high birth rate results in large families, or it may indicate a high degree of family solidarity. Again there is the possibility, as shown in the Cotton Areas, that there may be a splitting of families so as to place aged persons on relief and to leave the younger employables to fend for themselves without the responsibility for other individuals. All of these factors may operate to increase the number of old or young dependents on relief. The question of dependency and relief is, however, related principally to the basic economic and cultural factors in any particular region. The predominant industries and occupations determine the extent to which the head of a family will be able to care for his dependents continuously, and the cultural traditions to a large extent determine the internal solidarity and cohesiveness of the family unit.

Background factors of an economic, sociological, or even medical nature, when viewed in their full complexity, are agents which determine the number of dependents on relief. Families in the South, including the Appalachian-Ozark Area, for example, are likely to be large as a result of high birth rates; they tend to cling together in a large cohesive aggregate. Loss of economic support, or the injury or death of the chief provider, quickly forces the whole aggregation on relief. Therefore, it is easy to understand why the proportion of

families with no persons in the dependent age groups should be smallest in the South, where rural cultural traditions are strong, and greatest in the North, where the strong Yankee traditions are now nearly submerged by the newer mores of an industrialized and urbanized society.

FAMILY STRUCTURAL TYPES

For purposes of analysis family units were divided into three main types—normal families, broken families, and nonfamily types. In the normal group were found 72.5 percent of all rural relief families, while 10.9 percent were broken families and 16.6 percent were nonfamily types. The great majority of the normal families consisted of husband and wife or of parents and children alone, while about one out of nine also had relatives or friends present. Normal families were relatively more frequent in the open country than in the villages, and a larger proportion in the open country consisted of husband, wife, and children, as compared with husband and wife only in the villages. Likewise there were more broken families in the villages than in the open country, and broken families with female heads especially tended to congregate in the villages. Normal families were relatively more prevalent among the agricultural (82.2 percent) than among the nonagricultural (77.4 percent) families.

Broken families occurred most frequently in the southern areas. Nonfamily types were most evident among the Negroes of the South and in the industrial and urban areas of the North and East.

FERTILITY OF RURAL RELIEF FAMILIES

The relationship between fertility and relief is difficult to measure. A comparison of the relief data with the 1930 Census data was made for identical counties, and certain relationships were noted concerning the number of children under 5 years of age per 1,000 women 20 to 44 years of age in the population. The comparison is subject to qualification on several scores, however. One difficulty is the fact that there was a difference of 5 years between the census figures and the relief figures, and the depression of the early thirties had far-reaching effects on marriage and birth rates. Another was that relief practices in certain areas, particularly in the Western Cotton Area, resulted in the splitting of tenant and cropper families and resulted in the placing on relief of aged or unemployable members while the younger and more able members were kept under the care of the landlord. This naturally would tend to affect the size of the relief family. From such data as were available, however, it appears that for the country as a whole the fertility ratio for the relief families was considerably higher than that for the general population. This is to be expected since relief families, for the most part, come from the lower social and economic strata where the birth rates are higher than those in the

higher strata. Furthermore, since population traits are well grounded in the mores, relief families with more children may continue, at least for a time, to have children while still on relief.

The relationship between fertility and relief, however, was by no means uniform. In some areas fertility was much higher among relief families than among census families, particularly in the Appalachian-Ozark and Ranching Areas. In other areas the differences were smaller, while in the Eastern Cotton Area the number of children under 5 years of age per 1,000 women aged 20 to 44 years was actually slightly smaller for the relief families than for all families in 1930.

EMPLOYABILITY, EMPLOYMENT, AND AMOUNT OF RELIEF

Employability and employment are directly related to relief and are vital factors in family status in either prosperity or depression. The employability composition of a family sets the outside limits for its employment success, and many families are greatly handicapped by the lack of any capable member between the ages of 16 and 64 years. The plight of many rural relief families can be shown by the fact that one-eighth of them had no employable worker and an additional 7.8 percent of these families had female workers only. These two types of unemployability taken together were relatively most important in the two Cotton Areas. Unemployability was especially high among the Negroes of the South and relatively lower among the whites.

During times of depression work in agriculture is relatively more stable than in nonagriculture, although the past unusual period in agricultural production forced a large number of normally self-supporting agricultural families on relief. However, only 29.2 percent of the gainful workers who had usually been employed in agriculture were unemployed at the time of the survey in contrast with 72.1 percent of the nonagricultural workers. The small proportion of unemployed in agriculture, however, was partly due to the fact that farm operators were arbitrarily defined as employed if they were still on their farms, even if they had no cash income. For the groups that were actually employed within these broad classes, much more occupational shifting had taken place among the nonagricultural occupations. Only 1 percent of the former workers in agriculture had shifted into nonagricultural jobs, but almost 11 percent of the nonagricultural workers were employed in agriculture at the time of survey. This difference was also shown by the fact that 95.8 percent of all the workers in agriculture who were employed were engaged in their usual occupations as contrasted with 55.7 percent of the workers in nonagriculture. In part this reflects a widespread movement back to the farm during the depression, and in part it also represents a reversed current of occupational mobility, which caused a general shifting down the scale for workers at all levels.

When rural relief families were analyzed according to continuity of their relief histories, certain trends were observable. Of all cases on relief in June 1935, 74.3 percent had received assistance continuously since February. Another 14.2 percent of the cases had been reopened between March and June, and only 11.5 percent were new cases. Slightly more new cases appeared in the villages than in the open country. Continuous relief histories were found most frequently among groups of a generally low economic level or among groups especially affected during the depression period by unusual circumstances. The Negroes in the South are an example of the first type, and the farmers in the drought area are an example of the second type.

The average amount of relief per family was influenced mainly by these same factors, low economic levels or unusual conditions of stress. Also of importance in the determination of amount of relief were comparative price levels and costs of living. Lowest amounts of relief were found in the three southern areas, particularly among the Negroes, and the highest amounts were spent in the industrialized areas of the North and East. Indeed, the cost of relief per family in the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas was not more than one-third the cost in New England. Four factors were most important in determining the incidence and amount of relief for rural families: (1) The number of employables in the family and their capabilities; (2) unemployment because of the business cycle; (3) unemployment and underemployment because of the weather cycle; and (4) social action for improving the standard of living.

MOBILITY OF RURAL RELIEF FAMILIES

Only crude measures of the mobility of rural relief families were available. For the most part the families were divided into three groups as follows: *lifelong residents*, referring to those families whose head was born in the county in which he was living at the time of the survey; *predepression migrants*, referring to those families whose head moved to the county at any time prior to 1930; and *depression migrants*, including those families whose head moved to the county some time during the period 1930 to June 1935.

Of the heads of rural families on relief in June 1935, 40.5 percent were lifelong residents of the county; 45.6 percent had moved to the county before the depression; and the remaining 13.9 percent were depression migrants. As might be expected, smaller proportions of the heads of rural relief families were lifelong residents in the more recently settled areas than in the areas of older settlement. The proportion of lifelong residents was 14.4 percent in the Winter Wheat Area, 17.8 percent in the Lake States Cut-Over Area, 22.4 percent in the Ranching Area, and 28.0 percent in the Spring Wheat Area. All of these are areas of comparatively recent settlement. Portions of the two Wheat Areas and of the Lake States Cut-Over Area were settled as recently as the

World War. Proportionately more lifelong residents were found in the South and in other sections of older settlement. Migration during the depression was characterized by two main types. The first was migration because of the drought. This was most noticeable in the Wheat Areas and the Western Cotton Area, resulting in a shifting of population within those areas and also a movement to the villages and to the States in the far West. The second form of depression migration was the back-to-the-farm movement from the depression-stricken cities. This was important in the self-sufficing areas of the Northeast. It was also of great importance in the mountain areas of the South.

Agriculture is an occupation which encourages stability as contrasted with nonagriculture. Within agriculture farm operators were more stable than farm laborers, but among the nonagricultural occupations unskilled laborers were the most stable group. More nonagricultural than agricultural workers had moved during the depression. The depression meant a move to the village for farm operators and a move to the country for nonagricultural workers while many farm laborers simply moved to another location in the open country.

EDUCATION OF RURAL RELIEF FAMILIES

Heads of rural relief families were found to be on a comparatively low educational level since less than 4 percent were high school graduates and only about 35 percent had completed as much as a grammar school education. Wide differences appeared among the various areas, however, as well as between village and open country residents, between agricultural and nonagricultural workers, and between whites and Negroes. In general, the educational level was higher in the more industrialized and urbanized areas than it was in the more agricultural areas. Similarly, within each area the agricultural workers had a lower educational level than the nonagricultural workers. In every area a larger proportion of the heads of village families had completed a grammar school education than had the heads of families living in the open country; for all areas combined the difference reached approximately 11 percent. In the South Negroes were on a lower educational level than whites. The median school grade completed by heads of white relief families in the Eastern Cotton Area was 5.9 years, while for heads of Negro relief families it was only 2.9 years. The median school grade completed for all heads of rural relief families in all areas was 6.4 years.

The contrast between the education of heads and of other family members, particularly of youth and children, reflects the fact that educational levels have been rising during the past generation. This was most noticeable in areas of low standards where the requirements have been raised rather rapidly and are beginning to approximate the standards of the country as a whole.

Chapter I

TYPES OF FARM FAMILIES AND THE INCIDENCE OF RELIEF

THE RURAL population of the United States is not homogeneous according to residence. It is not only distributed among farm, open country nonfarm, and village residences, but it is also broken up into major agricultural regions (fig. 1). The farm population of the United States is unevenly distributed over these regions (fig. 2), being more concentrated in the hilly regions, on poor soils, and in the South than it is in the richer regions of the Corn Belt of the North, in the wheat regions, and in the arid plains of the West. This leads to a differentiation of the farm population into broad categories.

TYPES OF FARM FAMILIES

The first category in the farm population is that of the commercial farmers, including both owners and tenants, who produce most of the products sold from American farms. The importance of this group can be seen from a study of figure 3 which gives the value of the products sold from the farm and used by farm families classified into groups, by values, for the United States in 1929. Farm families having products valued at more than \$1,000 comprised 51.2 percent of such families and produced 89.2 percent of the products sold. These families under ordinary circumstances are relatively well-to-do. They comprise a good part of the farm population in the Corn Belt, the Spring and Winter Wheat Areas, and the Hay and Dairy Area. They also comprise a large proportion of the upper economic classes in the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas and some of the families in the Lake States Cut-Over and Ranching Areas and in certain areas of New England. They comprise only a very few of the families in the Appalachian-Ozark Area (see fig. 1 and fig. 26, p. 112).

These families are commercial producers and consumers and to a large extent are under the direct influence of the export markets of the United States, because of the fact that the prices of their products are determined largely by the commercial surplus which is exported. Relief for these families, and for the regions where they predominate, is determined to a great extent by the fluctuations in quantities and prices

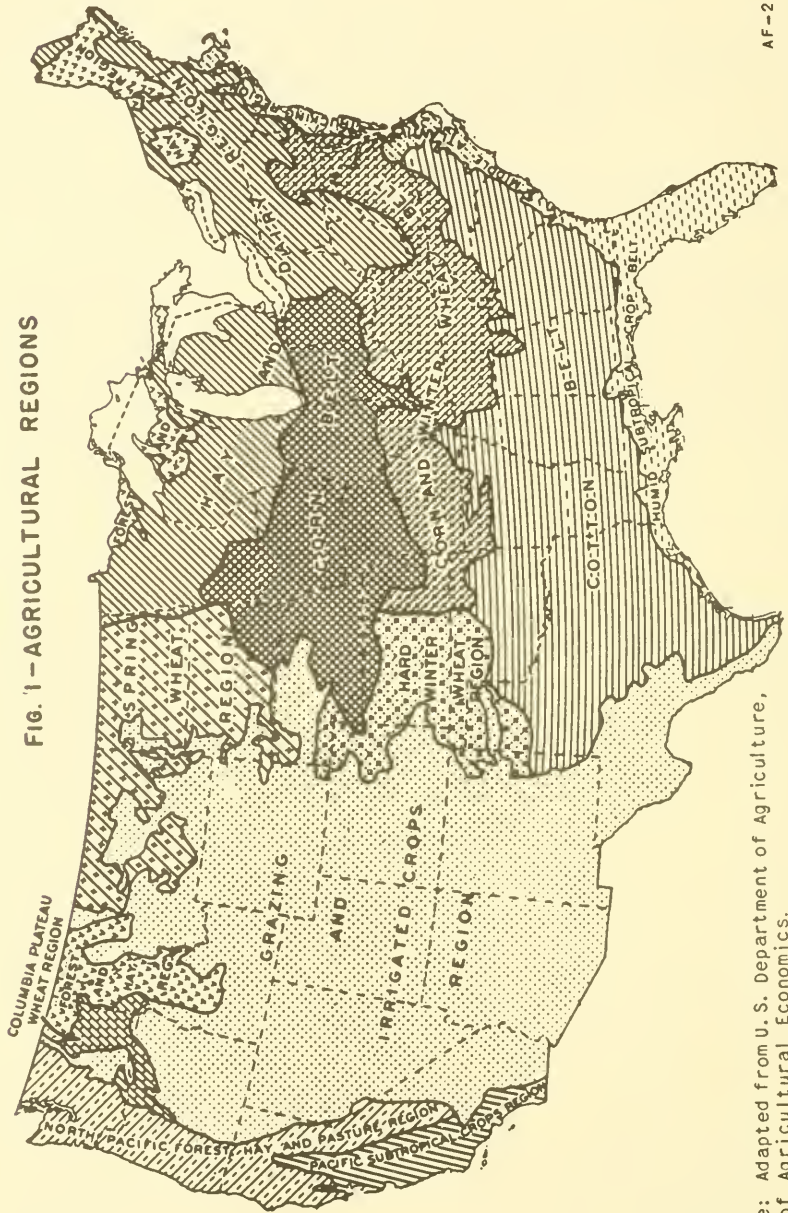
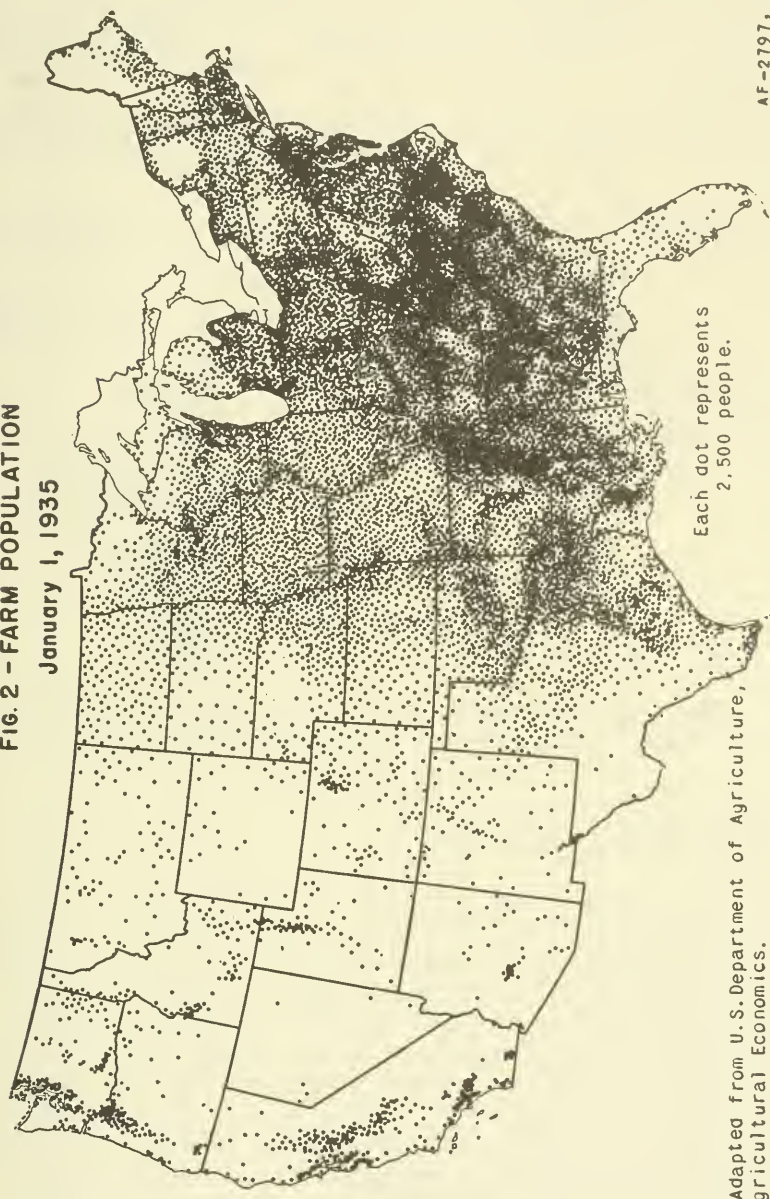


FIG. 1 - AGRICULTURAL REGIONS

Source: Adapted from U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

FIG. 2 - FARM POPULATION
January 1, 1935



Each dot represents
2,500 people.

Source: Adapted from U.S. Department of Agriculture,
Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

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of farm products. One of the major factors in their relation to the Federal Government is the matter of agricultural adjustment. Consequently, in discussing relief among such farm families, one must think in terms of agricultural prices and of programs for the limitation of production.

A second category of the farm population, likewise including both owners and tenants, may be called noncommercial. This includes the

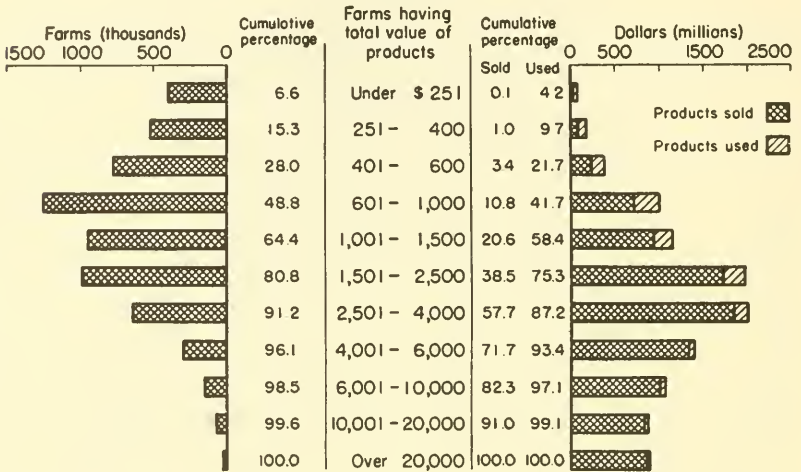


FIG. 3-VALUE OF PRODUCTS SOLD FROM FARM AND USED BY FAMILY CLASSIFIED INTO GROUPS, BY VALUES, UNITED STATES 1929

Source: Adapted from U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

AF-2801, WPA

other 48.8 percent of the farmers who in 1929 produced only 10.8 percent of the value of farm products sold. This noncommercial group consists largely of the farm operators classified by the census as self-sufficing or part-time. The noncommercial farm family or subsistence unit comprises much of the population to be found in the Appalachian-Ozark Area and in the Piedmont Regions, a number of settlers in the Lake States Cut-Over Area, a large proportion of the poorer families in the Ranching Area, and a good many part-time farmers around the cities in the Hay and Dairy Area and in New England. The most representative region for this group is the Appalachian-Ozark Area.

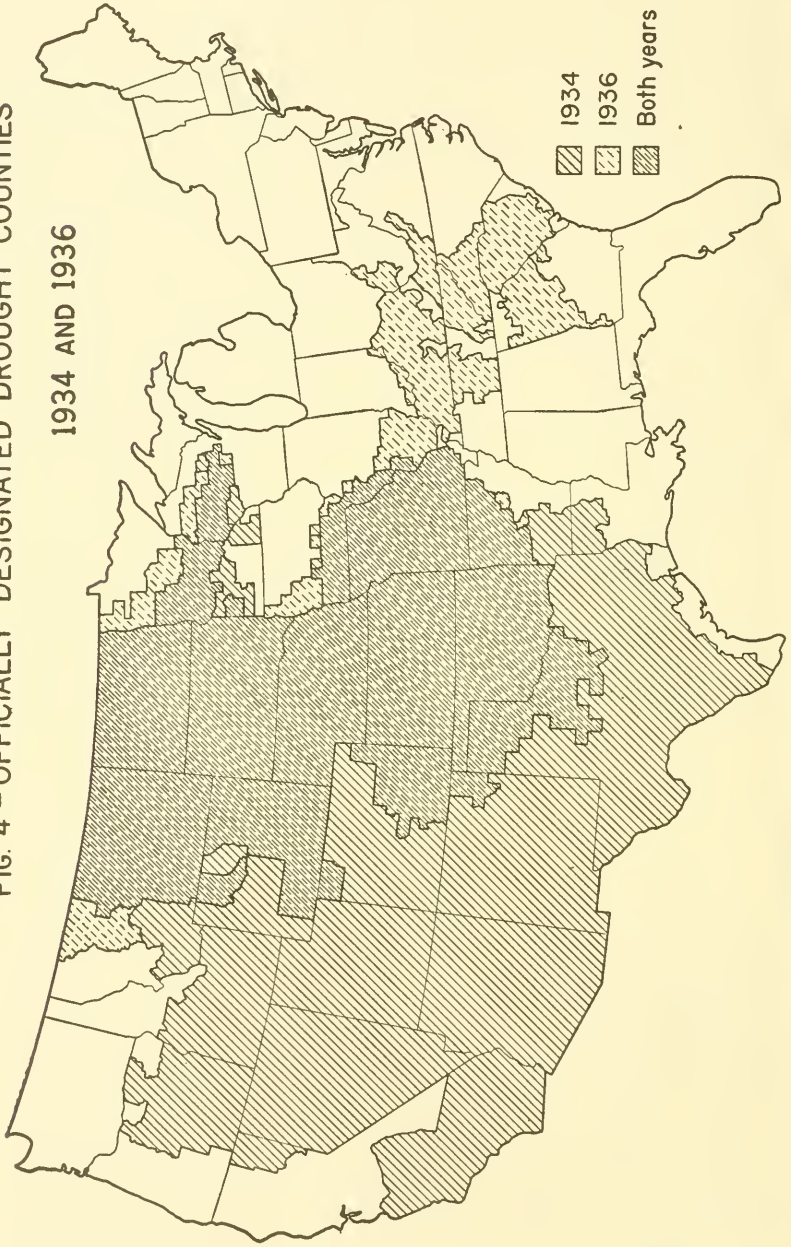
These families, as a rule, do not have much good land but what they have is generally capable of producing some of the food, fuel, building materials, and other essentials of life for a fairly dependable but meager living. They generally supplement their income in direct consump-

tion goods from these poor land resources by labor in other occupations, such as those connected with timber and mineral resources and decentralized factories. These families are helped relatively little by agricultural price-raising in the United States since their products are consumed rather than sold and since to some extent they must purchase the products whose prices have been increased by the program. On the other hand, restricted production in the coal, copper, and iron mines and in the factories located in the rural districts has a direct influence upon their living. The depletion of timber resources is also very important. This explains why these families form a category of their own and why they are, to a large extent, to be found in the Appalachian-Ozark Area (with formerly abundant timber and coal resources) more frequently than in the richer agricultural areas. This also explains why they are found in the Lake States Cut-Over Area with its former timber resources and its copper and iron mines and in New England with its decentralized industries. The presence of these families, to a limited extent, in the grazing area is determined by the fact that this is a mountainous region with some timber and mineral resources.

Cutting across both the commercial and noncommercial groups, a third category of the agricultural population may be called the chronically poverty-stricken. Some rural families of this type, both owner and tenant, are to be found in all areas. It includes chiefly, however, the farm laborers in all areas and the sharecroppers and tenants of the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas. In the South relief among them is complicated by the problem of race because a high proportion of the poverty-stricken families are Negro families. A great many of them, however, are white families living under the same economic conditions. As laborers, croppers, and tenants upon farms chiefly in the South, they produce goods primarily for commercial sale. In spite of the fact that they are chronically poverty-stricken, they seldom produce much food for home consumption. This is due partly to the system of agriculture and partly to ignorance, disease, and the fact that they either have lost or have never developed sufficiently the type of culture which emphasizes production of goods for home consumption. These poverty-stricken rural families include also the migratory laborers to be found in the West, particularly in California. During the depression, and especially since the droughts of 1934 and 1936, they have been joined by a number of the former farmers of the drought region¹ (fig. 4). Many of these lost everything they had and migrated westward to join the group of relatively poverty-stricken laborers. Whereas in the South the problem of

¹ See Taeuber, Conrad and Taylor, Carl C., *The People of the Drought States*, Research Bulletin Series V, No. 2, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1937, pp. 45-47.

FIG. 4 - OFFICIALLY DESIGNATED DROUGHT COUNTIES



Sources: Drought Area Designation Committee (1934);
U. S. Department of Agriculture Drought Committee (1936).

poverty-stricken laborers is complicated by the fact that a great many of them are Negroes, in the West there are many persons of Mexican, oriental, or South European origin.

A large proportion of the poverty-stricken, whether laborers, sharetenants, or sharecroppers, work for commercial farmers. In many cases they live on the farms the year round, but the migratory workers live on them only during the crop season. During the other parts of the year they tend to become attached to the rural-nonfarm population, chiefly in the villages. As a general rule they work solely for wages or for a part of the crop. Supplies are furnished by the landlord or employer, and they do little subsistence farming for home supplies on their own account. As a result they share the sufferings caused by fluctuations in the business cycle along with the commercial farmer. If agricultural adjustment keeps them on the farms or furnishes them employment during a period of production restriction and higher prices, they gain in higher wages and more return for their crop from the change. If, under any process, they are not kept on or rehired in their former seasonal employment during such a period, they are forced upon relief providing they cannot find alternative opportunities for work.

From the point of view of these categories of farm families, three important types of influences came to bear upon rural life in America during the depression of the early thirties. These were, respectively, the decline in prices and sales for the commercial farmers, either the decline in utilization or the disappearance of other natural resources for the noncommercial farmers, and the change in work opportunities for the poverty-stricken laborers, croppers, and tenants. In analyzing the problem of relief and of the depression in any rural area one should consider it in terms of how far the area is influenced by the predominance of one of these broad rural classes on relief.

Another problem in American rural life which has had an influence upon the relief needs of farm families is that of production for domestic consumption or for export. Some farmers specialize in export crops or crops with an export surplus, such as wheat or cotton, and others in producing goods consumed almost entirely by the American wage earner, such as milk and dairy products. The Hay and Dairy Area is representative of the farmer who produces almost entirely for American consumption, whereas the Spring and Winter Wheat Areas and the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas all have high export surpluses.

The farmers who produce crops with an export surplus depend, to a considerable extent, upon a foreign market which, at the same time, may or may not be as prosperous or restricted as the Amer-

ican urban market. The people in these regions are generally located at some distance from the large cities and on level agricultural lands more or less devoid of timber and mineral resources. Consequently their opportunities for a part-time farming and industrial combination are more or less restricted. On the other hand, the producers for the domestic urban market are located almost entirely near the large cities in industrial regions where their opportunities for subsidiary income from sources other than agriculture are considerably enhanced. Thus, they have come to depend on these subsidiary sources of income and may suffer considerably from unemployment even though the general prices of agricultural products are fairly stable. Such farmers are in direct contact with the city. As a result, whatever influences urbanization, industrialization, a high rate of mobility, and communication have upon rural family life will be felt most quickly in a region where production for the domestic market predominates. All of these statements apply with particular force to the Hay and Dairy Area and to New England.

Finally, there are the special problems of the farmers in those regions of the United States with restricted rainfall—averaging less than 20 inches per year. These regions are to be found in the Spring and Winter Wheat Areas and in the Great Plains grazing area. Rainfall in these regions fluctuates not only according to the seasons of the year and year by year but also through longer cycles. Many of these regions were densely settled, at least from the standpoint of acreage farmed, during the period of high prices for agricultural products which set in about 1910 and carried on through the World War. This also happened to be a period of relatively good rainfall. Since that time, and particularly during the depression of the early thirties, a period of drought set in. The extensive droughts of 1934 and 1936 are related to this cycle, and any analysis should consider the relief families in those regions from this standpoint.

THE INCIDENCE OF RELIEF

Rural families receiving general relief gradually increased in number from the inauguration of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration early in 1933 to January 1935 when they reached an estimated total of 1,949,000 cases. By the time final FERA grants were determined in December of that year the rural relief load had declined to 401,000 cases (table 1). Part of the decline in the relief load was due to the transfer of thousands of cases to the rural rehabilitation program in the early months of 1935.² In the latter part of the year the decline was largely due to the transfer of employable cases to the

² See Asch, Berta and Mangus, A. R., *Farmers on Relief and Rehabilitation*, Research Monograph VIII, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1937, p. 18.



Resettlement Administration (Lee).

Farm Owner Family in the Drought Area.

Table 1.—Rural Families in the United States Receiving General Relief, July 1933 Through December 1935 (Estimated)

Year and month	Number of families	Year and month	Number of families
1933		1934	
July	1,270,000	October	1,667,000
August	1,282,000	November	1,753,000
September	1,010,000	December	1,853,000
October	1,113,000	1935	
November	1,333,000	January	1,949,000
December	1,007,000	February	1,907,000
1934		March	1,858,000
January	1,165,000	April	1,764,000
February	1,227,000	May	1,649,000
March	1,414,000	June	1,427,000
April	1,321,000	July	1,289,000
May	1,453,000	August	1,149,000
June	1,523,000	September	1,039,000
July	1,610,000	October	991,000
August	1,765,000	November	859,000
September	1,725,000	December	401,000

Source: Smith, Mapheus and Mangus, A. R., *Cases Receiving General Relief in Urban and Rural Areas, July 1933-December 1935 (Estimated)*, Research Bulletin Series III, No. 1, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., August 22, 1936.

Works Program.³ Increased employment in private industry and administrative closings further reduced the relief load.

Comparison of the estimated proportion of the rural and urban population receiving general relief between July 1933 and December 1935 reveals two important aspects with respect to rural relief. The first of these is the relative position of the rural population in regard to the incidence of relief (fig. 5 and appendix table 1). For each month of the period covered the proportion of the rural population on relief was less than that of the urban population. The national average was always nearer the urban than the rural ratio because there are about 5 million more urban than rural families in the United States.

A second factor was the fluctuations in relief loads in rural and urban areas. The proportion of the urban population on relief was 15.2 percent in July 1933 and tended on the whole to remain large but with a number of fluctuations throughout the whole period studied. Rural relief was relatively high in some of the early months of 1933. Fundamentally, however, rural relief reached a peak of a little above 15 percent in January and February 1935 and declined slowly after that time. The urban percentages also declined systematically during 1935 from the peak of February. The important point is that the rural and urban relief curves had some elements in common but others which differentiated them. Differences were most significant in the early period while in the later period similarities were outstanding. The dividing point was the late spring of 1934.

Relief rates also varied considerably among the agricultural areas surveyed (appendix table 2). By far the most outstanding relief area

³ Mangus, A. R., *Changing Aspects of Rural Relief*, Research Monograph XIV, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1938, appendix table 9.

was the Lake States Cut-Over with the Appalachian-Ozark Area competing with the Spring Wheat Area for second place. The Appalachian-Ozark Area had a generally high incidence of relief, whereas the

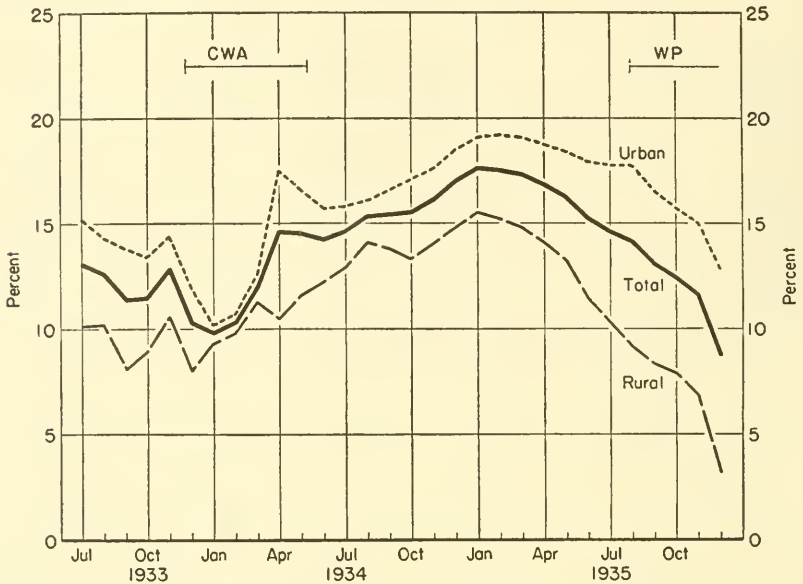


FIG. 5-INTENSITY OF GENERAL RELIEF IN THE UNITED STATES* BY RESIDENCE (Estimated)
July 1933 through December 1935

*Percentage ratio of total estimated number of cases to all families of the same residence class.

Source: Mangus, A.R., *Changing Aspects of Rural Relief*, Research Monograph XIV, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D.C., 1938

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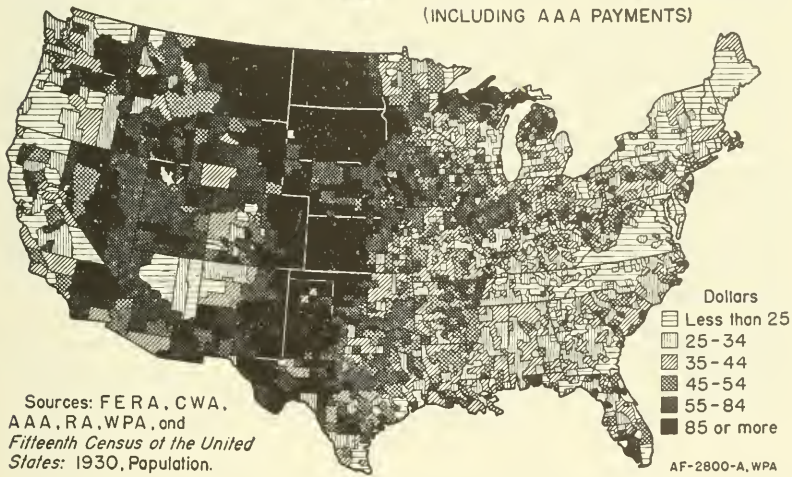
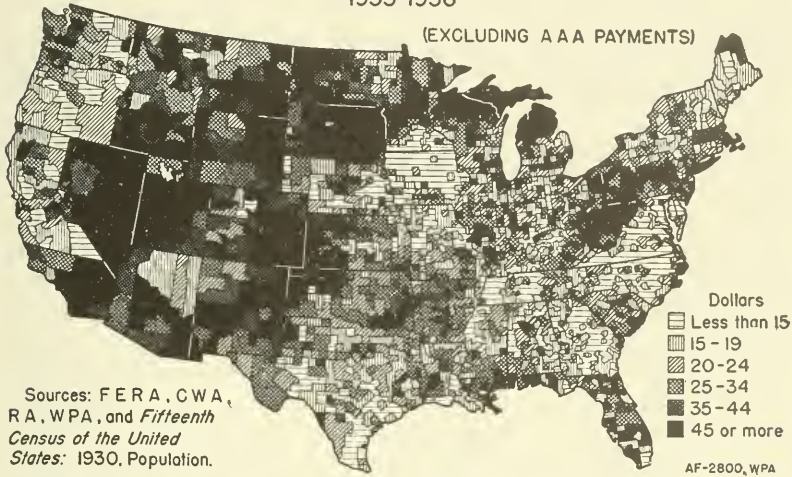
Spring Wheat Area had particularly high relief loads following the drought of 1934.

The areas with the lowest relief loads were the Corn Belt and the Hay and Dairy Area.⁴ These two regions represented the commercial farmers who received particular aid through the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (Corn Belt) and who produced food crops for domestic consumption (Hay and Dairy Area). Hence, low relief rates for the farmers in these areas are understandable because, if they produced export crops, they were aided by the AAA and, if they produced goods primarily for American wage earners, their markets did not decline as much as did the foreign ones. The maintenance of

⁴ Comparable data for New England are not available.

domestic markets was due in part to the fact that Federal relief in the cities enabled the urban families, who consumed much of these farm products, to continue to purchase the food produced for such markets.

FIG.6-FEDERAL AID PER CAPITA
1933-1936



It should be pointed out that the figures on relief intensity do not represent the same families every month. Rural families came on and went off relief at a rapid rate as their fortunes temporarily improved or declined.⁵ As a result of the high rate of turnover, it is probable that the actual number of families which received relief for at least 1 month during the period of the FERA was at least 50 percent

⁵ Mangus, A. R., *op. cit.*, ch. III.

greater than the number on relief at the peak month. More than one out of every four rural families received public or private assistance at some time during the early thirties.⁵

Not only relief loads but also expenditures for relief varied widely from one rural area to another (fig. 6). The areas of the highest per capita relief costs from 1933 through 1936, including all Federal expenditures of an emergency nature, were practically coextensive with the Spring and Winter Wheat Areas. This region has an economy geared to the international industrial-commercial complex. It is of comparatively recent settlement with but slight accumulations of material goods; and, as yet, it has not developed a strong indigenous culture. Thus, when the combination of drought and a low market struck at the economic organization, the population had no recourse except emigration or dependency.

From this brief summary of the incidence of rural relief a number of factors stand out clearly. First, the general economic depression increased the difficulty that families had in making a living in all rural areas. However, different types of areas presented problems which made for differences in relief rates. For instance, a prominent factor in many of these areas was the drought which set in during the depression and which caused high relief rates in the areas in which it had an influence. Certain special circumstances, such as Agricultural Adjustment Administration benefits and the accessibility and stability of food markets in the cities, tended to lower relief rates for some areas. Fundamentally, however, with the exception of the Spring Wheat Area, sections with the highest relief rates were not influenced directly by any of these factors. In the Appalachian-Ozark and the Lake States Cut-Over Areas rural relief rates were the highest of all and fluctuated the least. Further in this study the analysis will attempt repeatedly to throw light on the particular problems of the families on relief in those two areas.

⁵ Woofter, T. J., Jr. and Winston, Ellen, *Seven Lean Years*, manuscript in preparation.

Chapter II

OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN OF THE HEADS OF RURAL RELIEF FAMILIES

THE USUAL occupations¹ of the heads of rural relief families give both a picture of the background of the relief problem and some indication of the kind of breakdown responsible for the relief situation. For purposes of analysis heads of families are classified as agricultural or nonagricultural, as having no usual occupation,² or as nonworkers³ (table 2).

A high proportion of agricultural families was receiving general relief in June 1935 although this was only one of four important public measures for the improvement of agriculture and rural life in operation at that time. The other three were the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, which sought to raise prices and give bonuses to the farmer; the Farm Credit Administration, which sought to lower interest rates and take over mortgages to keep farmers from losing their farms; and the rural rehabilitation program, which sought to remove farm families from relief rolls by advancing credit for subsistence and farming operations so that they could once more become self-supporting.

The agricultural occupations accounted for about the same proportion of the rural relief cases as the nonagricultural occupations (40.6 percent as compared with 41.2 percent). Considering that relief represented only one of four public measures to assist agriculture, it is disheartening that so many farmers had to have this form of assistance.

¹ A person was considered to have had a usual occupation if at any time during the past 10 years he had worked at any job, other than work relief, for a period of at least 4 consecutive weeks. If a person had worked at two or more occupations, the one at which he had worked the greatest length of time was considered the usual occupation. If he had worked for an equal length of time at two or more occupations, the one at which he had worked last was considered the usual occupation.

² Capable of working and seeking work but not qualifying for a usual occupation under footnote 1 above.

³ Neither seeking gainful employment nor qualifying under footnote 1 above.

Table 2.—Usual Occupation of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Area, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Usual occupation	All areas		Eastern Cotton			Western Cotton			Lake States and Over	Hay and Dairy	Corn Belt	Spring Wheat	Winter Wheat	Ranching	New England
	Number	Percent	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro							
Number.....	62,831		7,732	5,084	2,648	7,268	5,432	1,836	3,814	8,626	7,512	3,374	1,288	1,886	4,315
Percent.....	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture.....	40.6		47.5	47.5	47.4	54.3	56.8	46.7	41.3	28.9	40.2	68.7	54.3	42.9	12.7
Farm operator.....	29.3		28.1	31.6	21.3	34.3	36.0	29.4	34.3	17.3	20.8	61.5	38.5	25.2	6.9
Owner.....	10.7		5.9	7.6	2.7	4.1	4.0	4.5	15.3	8.4	5.2	25.6	8.5	15.6	6.4
Tenant.....	15.4		8.4	15.9	8.9	17.0	18.9	13.5	23.0	8.9	15.6	35.9	30.0	9.6	0.5
Cropper.....	3.2		13.8	8.1	9.7	13.2	13.1	11.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Farm laborer.....	11.3		19.4	15.9	26.1	20.0	20.8	17.3	3.0	11.6	19.4	7.2	15.8	17.7	5.8
Nonagriculture.....	41.2		31.2	34.4	25.3	24.7	26.1	20.7	43.8	52.8	44.1	19.1	33.0	34.8	63.7
White collar.....	3.7		4.1	6.0	0.5	2.9	3.6	0.9	2.1	4.2	5.8	3.5	5.0	2.3	6.8
Skilled.....	6.0		4.0	5.3	1.5	2.9	3.8	0.4	7.8	11.4	8.1	4.6	6.1	4.0	12.5
Unskilled.....	6.8		7.9	11.1	1.8	2.9	3.6	0.7	5.8	9.7	8.5	2.4	4.0	5.5	21.5
Unemployed.....	24.7		13.2	12.0	21.5	16.0	15.1	18.7	36.4	25.8	21.7	8.6	17.9	23.0	22.9
No usual occupation.....	12.6		3.5	0.8	0.8	1.5	1.9	0.4	1.7	1.0	1.6	3.9	2.3	2.2	3.0
Nonworker.....	16.0		17.7	13.2	26.5	13.5	15.2	32.2	19.2	19.0	14.1	8.2	8.2	19.8	20.2
Unknown.....	0.1		0.1	0.1	—	—	—	—	0.1	—	—	0.1	0.5	0.3	0.4

Among the agriculturalists ⁴ farm operators were two and one-half times as numerous on relief as farm laborers. This might be expected because there are considerably more than twice as many farm operators as hired farm laborers in the United States. Within the farm operator group, however, tenants furnished a greater proportion of the relief cases than did farm owners ⁵ although in the entire United States there are about three farm owners for every two farm tenants.

Unskilled laborers accounted for most of the heads of relief cases among the nonagricultural group. This is partly because they are the most numerous class among rural nonagriculturalists and partly because the incidence of relief is greater at the bottom of the economic pyramid. Nonworkers constituted 15.6 percent of the heads of relief cases, reflecting the tendency for relief rolls at any particular time to include a large number of families which for various reasons contain no breadwinner at all.

OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN BY AREA

The occupational origins of heads of relief families varied widely by areas (table 2). Agriculture was more important than nonagriculture in the Cotton, Wheat, and Ranching Areas. In the other areas the opposite was true. The greatest proportionate difference existed between New England with only 12.7 percent of its rural relief families engaged in agriculture and the Spring Wheat Area where 68.7 percent were of farm origin. The important factor in New England was probably the extent of urbanization along with decentralized industrial villages. Drought was chiefly responsible for the high proportion of farm families on relief in the Spring Wheat Area.

The proportion of farm laborers on relief in the two Cotton Areas and in the other commercial agricultural regions is one indication of the net results of agricultural restrictions. Under the system of reducing farm production these workers were no longer needed in agriculture, and finding no other alternative they went on relief. Also,

⁴ Agriculturalists include farm owners, tenants, and croppers, and farm laborers. A *farm owner* is a farmer who owns all or part of the land which he operates. A *renter* or *tenant* is a farm operator who operates hired land only, furnishing all or part of the working equipment and stock whether he pays cash or a share of the crop or both as rent. A *farm cropper* is a farmer who operates only rented land and to whom the landlord furnishes all of the work animals; i. e., a farm operator who contributes only his labor and receives in return a share of the crop. A *farm laborer* is a person who works on a farm with or without wages under the supervision of the farm operator. Children over 16 years of age and wives who work regularly and most of the time on the household farm are included in this definition, whether they receive money wages, a share of the crop, or board and room. Persons who do only incidental farm chores are not included.

⁵ Asch, Berta and Mangus, A. R., *Farmers on Relief and Rehabilitation*, Research Monograph VIII, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1937, p. 51.

part of the excess destitute population in the Cotton Belt migrated and showed up among the laborers on relief in the far West.

For the nonagricultural families on relief the most important additional observation was the proportions of skilled and semiskilled workers on relief in rural New England. With the closing of factories in industrial villages they were forced on relief along with the unskilled. Moreover, the number of white-collar workers receiving relief in the rural districts of New England was almost twice as great as the national average. On the other hand, New England furnished slightly less than the national average of unskilled laborers on relief. This is to be explained by the fact that the industrial population in New England is a highly skilled one as contrasted with the general rural-industrial population in the United States.

The proportion of heads with no usual occupation receiving rural relief was not significant in any area. Nonworkers were important, however, constituting from 10 to 20 percent of the relief load in all areas except the Spring Wheat.

In the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas tenants, croppers, and farm laborers were the important groups to receive relief among the agriculturalists. Among the nonagriculturalists unskilled laborers formed the important group. Thus, occupations at the bottom of the economic pyramid accounted for larger proportions of the relief load than the other occupations. These same conclusions apply also to the Winter and Spring Wheat Areas—other regions which had high proportions of agriculturalists receiving relief. In the Ranching Area more owners than tenants were found on the relief rolls while unskilled laborers from the small mining towns dominated the nonagricultural load. In the areas where agriculture played a lesser role in relief, the predominant emphasis was upon the unskilled laborer. These areas, with the exception of the Corn Belt, formerly had many persons engaged in exploiting timber or mineral resources. Such persons naturally would have had either to turn to subsistence farming for a living or to apply for aid during the depression.

OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN BY RESIDENCE

About two-fifths of the rural relief load was located in villages and the remainder in the open country. The relief families were most heavily concentrated in villages in the Ranching Area and the Corn Belt and least so in the Appalachian-Ozark Area⁶ (tables 3 and 4).

Naturally agriculture played a predominant role in the open country (57.2 percent) as contrasted with the villages (19.7 percent). Nonagriculture almost reversed the proportions with 58.6 percent in the villages and 27.5 percent in the open country (fig. 7). The areas

⁶ New England is excluded because of the difficulty of distinguishing between the open country and villages.



Resettlement Administration (Jung).

Tenant Family in the Midwest.

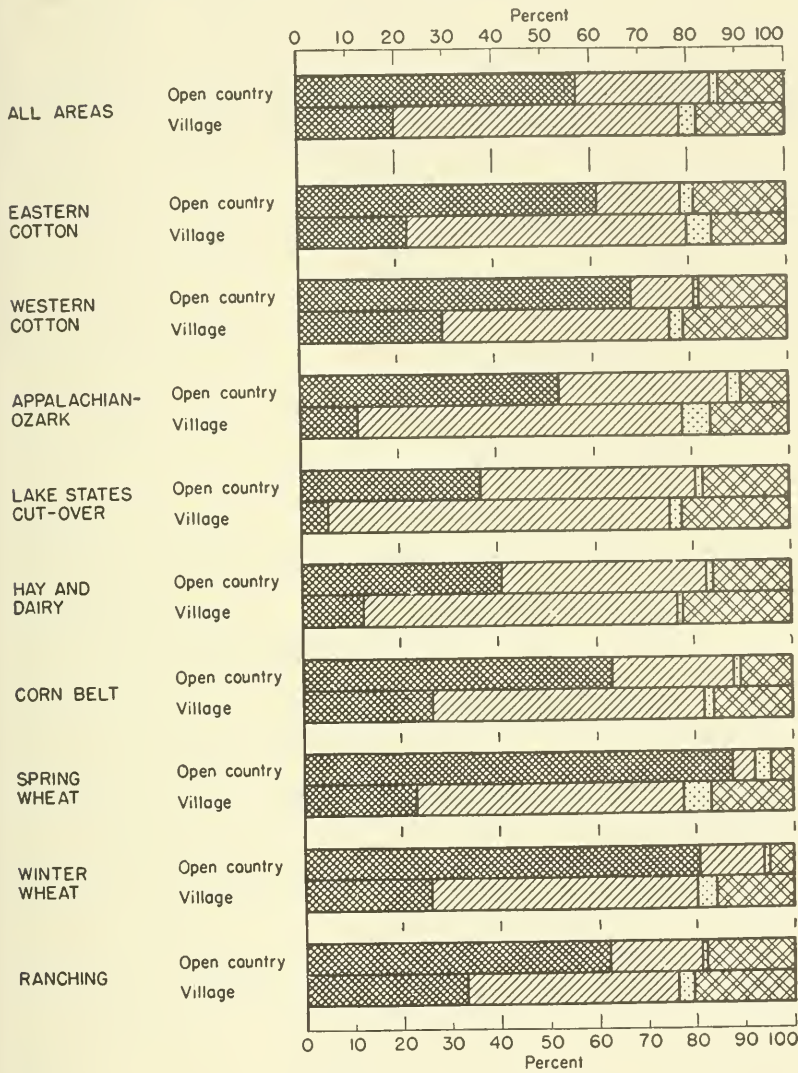
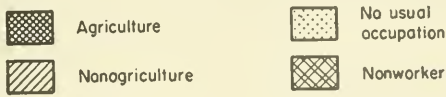


Fig. 7-USUAL OCCUPATION OF HEADS OF OPEN COUNTRY AND VILLAGE FAMILIES RECEIVING GENERAL RELIEF, BY AREA

June 1935

Table 3.—Usual Occupation of Heads of Open Country Families Receiving General Relief, by Area, June 1935
[138 counties]

Usual occupation	All areas ¹		Eastern Cotton			Western Cotton			Appalachian-Ozark	Lake States Cut-Over	Hay and Dairy	Corn Belt	Spring Wheat	Winter Wheat	Ranching
	Number	Percent	Total	White		Total	Negro								
				White	Negro		White	Negro							
Agriculture	61.4	5,002	3,366	1,636	4,886	3,510	1,376	12,066	2,512	5,028	2,802	2,386	670	650	
Farmer	44.6	3,715	2,149	1,567	3,716	2,714	1,002	10,331	2,149	4,407	3,805	3,145	880	822	
Operator	16.2	1,340	919	284	1,203	884	319	3,022	602	1,259	1,033	816	231	215	
Tenant	23.9	1,947	1,099	130	1,229	926	303	3,022	302	12.9	10.3	35.0	15.2	48.7	
Cropper	4.8	399	211	11.4	17.4	18.3	18.3	30.2	0.8	13.6	31.0	46.6	47.8	13.7	
Farm laborer	12.3	1,023	507	30.3	21.6	17.3	17.3	3.2	4.5	14.2	22.2	6.0	17.0	13.5	
Nonagriculture	27.5	2,287	201	10.6	12.8	13.9	9.7	34.6	44.0	41.0	24.5	4.4	3.1	18.8	
White collar	1.7	141	1.7	0.4	1.1	1.4	0.2	1.6	1.6	2.0	2.4	0.8	2.7	1.2	
Skilled	3.6	297	2.9	0.5	1.6	2.1	—	2.4	5.1	9.6	5.1	1.1	3.0	1.8	
Semiskilled	4.1	340	4.7	0.6	1.3	1.7	0.2	3.5	5.6	7.9	6.0	1.1	3.2	3.1	
Unskilled	18.1	1,499	8.9	9.1	8.8	8.7	9.3	27.1	31.7	21.5	11.0	1.7	6.2	12.7	
No usual occupation	1.9	156	3.5	0.6	0.9	1.1	0.2	2.5	1.4	1.1	1.2	3.2	0.9	0.6	
Nonworker	13.3	1,104	13.7	30.1	18.2	13.6	32.0	9.4	17.6	16.3	10.8	4.8	4.8	17.8	
Unknown	0.1	8	0.1	—	—	—	—	0.1	0.4	—	—	—	—	0.6	

* Less than 0.05 percent.
¹ Exclusive of New England.

Table 4.—Usual Occupation of Heads of Village Families Receiving General Relief, by Area, June 1935

[138 counties]

Usual occupation	All areas ¹		Eastern Cotton		Western Cotton			Appalachian-Ozark	Lake States Cut-Over	Hay and Dairy	Corn Belt	Spring Wheat	Winter Wheat	Ranching	
	Number	Percent	Total	White	Negro	Total	White								Negro
Agriculture.....	19.7		22.1	17.9	29.2	30.2	28.4	11.7	5.4	12.5	28.3	23.0	25.6	32.8	
Farm operator.....	9.6		19.1	17.9	9.6	13.2	0.0	9.2	2.0	14.3	8.7	12.7	12.0	12.9	
Owner.....	9.7		19.1	3.0	0.6	13.7	0.0	4.1	2.0	2.1	2.2	3.0	1.3	16.4	
Operator.....	4.8		9.5	2.6	2.4	1.9	3.3	5.1	0.9	2.2	6.5	9.7	10.7	6.5	
Crops.....	1.4		6.2	5.8	6.9	5.5	4.9	6.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Farm laborer.....	10.8		11.3	6.5	19.3	16.9	17.3	2.5	2.5	8.2	17.6	10.3	13.6	19.9	
Nonspecialized.....	58.6		57.3	62.2	49.0	46.4	40.3	66.4	69.9	64.1	55.7	54.7	64.4	43.2	
White collar.....	6.2		9.5	14.6	0.8	6.3	2.1	3.2	5.2	6.1	7.9	10.1	7.4	2.9	
Skilled.....	8.7		7.5	10.0	3.2	6.8	1.2	5.1	13.1	14.0	9.9	13.0	9.4	5.2	
Semi-skilled.....	8.3		13.8	19.8	3.8	5.7	7.2	3.6	6.1	12.2	10.0	6.3	7.1	6.8	
Unskilled.....	35.4		28.5	17.8	41.2	28.7	35.5	54.5	45.5	31.8	27.9	25.3	30.5	28.3	
No usual occupation.....	3.2		5.1	7.5	1.2	2.6	3.2	6.3	2.3	0.9	1.9	5.5	3.9	3.1	
Nonworker.....	18.4		15.4	12.3	20.6	18.2	32.4	16.5	22.4	22.5	16.1	16.6	15.5	20.7	
Unknown.....	0.1		0.1	0.1	—	—	—	0.1	—	—	—	0.2	0.6	0.2	
Total.....	22,714		2,730	1,718	1,012	2,582	1,922	660	1,302	3,598	4,710	988	618	1,236	
Percent.....	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

¹ Exclusive of New England.

in which the relief rate was high among agriculturalists residing in villages were those devoted to cotton, corn, wheat, and ranching. In the areas where commercial farming was not so important agriculturalists accounted for smaller proportions of the village relief loads. Likewise, the open country families connected with agriculture and receiving relief were fewest proportionately in the Appalachian-Ozark, Hay and Dairy, and Lake States Cut-Over Areas. The general prevalence of large numbers of nonagriculturalists in these regions is responsible for the difference.

Further differences begin to appear upon examination of the economic stratification within the agricultural and nonagricultural groups residing in the open country and in the villages, respectively. In the open country the agricultural group on relief had over three and one-half times as many farm operators as farm laborers, whereas among the village families farm laborers were more important than farm operators. The predominance of farm laborers over farm operators among families on relief in villages was chiefly due to the residence of farm laborers in villages in the Ranching, Corn Belt, Hay and Dairy, and Western Cotton Areas.

The economic pyramid among the nonagricultural families receiving relief was about the same in the villages as in the open country. About the same relative proportions of relief families were found to be in the unskilled labor classes as contrasted with the other nonagriculturalists. Heads of families on relief in villages who were nonworkers, however, were more numerous proportionately than in the open country. Together with this group the data for heads with no usual occupation show the extent to which the villages in the rural districts are collecting places for broken families and the nongainfully occupied population. It also indicates in part the extent to which these families are separated from plots of land where it would be possible for them to add to their income by keeping cows, chickens, and pigs and by gardening for home consumption.

OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN BY COLOR

The remaining major problem as to the incidence of relief according to occupational origin applies to color. Since most of the rural Negroes are concentrated in the South, separate tabulations for the whites and Negroes are presented only for the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas (tables 2, 3, and 4).

In general a larger proportion of Negro than of white families on relief had nonworker heads. This category accounted for more than one-fourth (26.5 percent) of the total Negro group in the Eastern Cotton Area and for almost one-third (32.2 percent) in the Western Cotton Area as compared with about one-seventh for the whites in each area. This is related to the fact that a higher proportion of



Associated Press.

Sharecropper's Family at Home.



Resettlement Administration (Lange).

Lunch Time for Cotton Pickers.

Negro than of white households on relief consisted of broken families.⁷ The difference is explained by the fact that relief was not given to Negroes as freely as to whites either in amounts or in proportions related to needs. Many landlords gave subsistence only to working members of Negro families, and the nonworking aged members, not able to secure help from their relatives, turned to relief.⁸

On the other hand, a larger proportion of the whites than of the Negroes on relief were represented in most of the other occupational groupings in each of the two areas with the exception of unskilled nonagricultural laborers. In both areas Negroes predominated in this group, chiefly because of the concentration of Negro laborers in the villages (tables 3 and 4). In the Eastern Cotton Area Negro farm laborers were also more numerous proportionately than white farm laborers. One out of every four Negroes (26.1 percent) on relief was a farm laborer as compared with about one out of every six whites (15.9 percent). In the Western Cotton Area the proportions were somewhat reversed with 17.3 percent of the Negroes reported as farm laborers as compared with 20.8 percent of the whites.

⁷ See ch. VI.

⁸ See Mangus, A. R., *The Rural Negro on Relief, February 1935*, Research Bulletin H-3, Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C., October 17, 1935, p. 6 and *passim*, for an analysis of the relative proportions of Negroes and whites on relief in these areas; see also Woofter, T. J., Jr., *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation*, Research Monograph V, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1936, ch. X.

Chapter III

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HEADS OF RURAL RELIEF FAMILIES

THE DEFINITION of heads of families used in this study ¹ takes into consideration a number of variables, including age, sex, parental status, economic rights, and social position. Actually, most persons under 21 or over 64 years of age have been excluded, and the person economically responsible for the support of the family has usually been designated as the head.

AGE OF FAMILY HEADS

The average head of a rural relief family in June 1935 was in the prime of life—the early forties (table 5 and fig. 8). Village family heads were about 2 years older on the average than were heads in the open country. When the families were analyzed by agricultural areas, however, certain exceptions were noted in that village heads in the Eastern Cotton, Lake States Cut-Over, and Ranching Areas were found to be slightly younger than those in the open country. The greatest differences were to be found in the Winter Wheat,

Table 5.—Average ¹ Age of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Area and Residence, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Area	Average age			Area	Average age		
	Total rural ²	Open country	Village		Total rural ²	Open country	Village
All areas.....	42.9	41.9	43.9	Appalachian-Ozark.....	41.6	40.6	44.1
Eastern Cotton.....	43.7	43.8	43.4	Lake States Cut-Over.....	44.8	45.0	44.5
White.....	42.1	41.9	42.6	Hay and Dairy.....	44.5	43.7	45.7
Negro.....	47.0	48.8	44.8	Corn Belt.....	43.5	42.6	44.1
Western Cotton.....	41.7	40.9	43.1	Spring Wheat.....	39.9	39.1	41.7
White.....	40.1	39.1	41.8	Winter Wheat.....	39.0	37.1	41.5
Negro.....	47.6	47.0	48.6	Ranching.....	44.0	45.5	43.2
				New England.....	46.6	—	—

¹Median.

²Exclusive of heads of families whose age was unknown.

¹ See appendix A.

Appalachian-Ozark, and Ranching Areas. In the Winter Wheat and Appalachian-Ozark Areas the open country heads were younger than village heads by about 4 years, and in the Ranching Area village heads were younger than open country heads by more than 2 years. These differences reflect not only variations in the populations by area but also variations in the factors responsible for relief. In the Ranching Area there is a young working population in the mining villages. In the Winter Wheat Area the drought apparently affected the tenants and the younger families in the open country to a greater extent than the older and retired families in the villages.

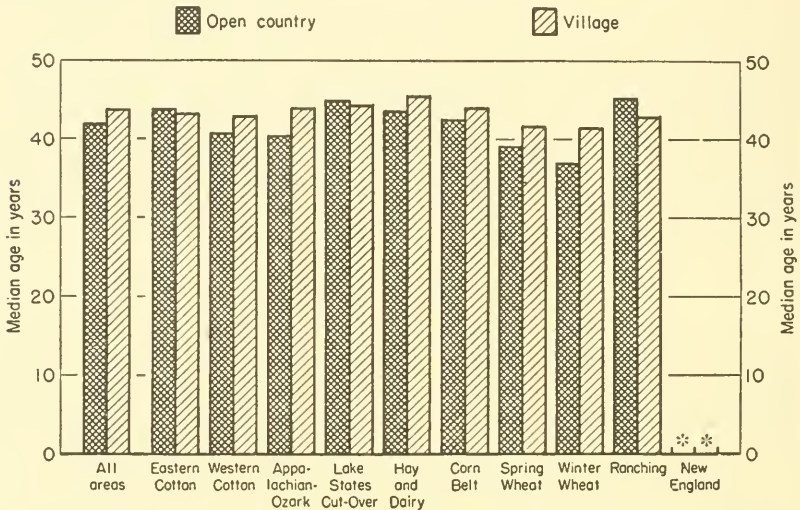


FIG. 8-MEDIAN AGE OF HEADS OF RURAL FAMILIES RECEIVING GENERAL RELIEF, BY AREA AND RESIDENCE
June 1935

* New England sampled by townships.

AF-2804, WPA

The smallest proportions of heads of rural relief families in the youngest age group (16-24 years) were found in New England, the Corn Belt, and the Hay and Dairy Area while the largest proportions were found in the Winter Wheat, Western Cotton, and Appalachian-Ozark Areas (appendix table 3). At the opposite extreme the Cotton, Lake States Cut-Over, New England, and Ranching Areas had the highest proportions of heads 65 years of age and over. The Western Cotton Area had both young and old family heads on relief in undue proportions. New England had few young heads and many old heads, reflecting the migration of young people to urban centers. In the Western Cotton, Appalachian-Ozark, and Winter Wheat Areas the high proportions in the younger age groups seemed to be due in

part to the lower age at marriage. In New England a higher age at marriage may possibly help to account for the high proportion of older heads. In societies where marriage is usually accompanied by considerable economic foresight, it does not take place as early as in other societies where this is less frequently the case. Societies with a smaller proportion of young family heads of course have fewer chances for the young heads of families to be on relief.

The age distribution of heads of relief families in the open country and in villages varied somewhat inversely. The younger heads tended to be found more often in the open country and the older heads in the villages (appendix table 3). Among the open country families, 56.1 percent were under 45 years of age as contrasted with 51.2 percent in villages. This variation in age between village and open country family heads is explained in part by the degree of industrialization of the population.

The median age of heads of agricultural families on relief was about the same as that of nonagricultural families (table 6 and fig. 9). The

Table 6.—Average¹ Age of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Usual Occupation and Area, June 1935
[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Usual occupation	Average age										
	All areas	East-ern Cot-ton	West-ern Cot-ton	Appa-lach-ian-Ozark	Lake States Cut-Over	Hay and Dairy	Corn Belt	Spring Wheat	Winter Wheat	Ranch-ing	New Eng-land
All occupations ²	40.2	40.4	37.9	39.7	41.1	41.3	41.0	38.5	37.3	40.0	43.6
Agriculture.....	40.0	41.5	38.1	39.4	42.8	41.3	40.9	38.2	36.1	40.7	47.5
Farm operator.....	41.2	43.2	39.1	40.0	44.4	44.0	43.0	39.3	38.7	43.1	49.5
Owner.....	46.5	49.9	47.5	45.1	46.3	47.3	50.0	46.3	45.9	46.2	49.8
Tenant.....	38.0	44.3	39.2	36.1	39.4	40.4	40.7	34.2	37.5	38.5	42.6
Cropper.....	37.9	39.5	35.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Farm laborer.....	36.4	39.0	36.3	31.5	30.2	36.1	38.2	30.4	31.2	36.9	44.2
Nonagriculture.....	40.5	38.9	37.9	40.2	40.7	41.5	41.2	39.6	39.0	39.3	42.8
White collar.....	40.3	40.1	35.1	35.5	40.1	42.9	40.5	38.5	42.8	44.5	41.0
Skilled.....	43.7	43.0	41.4	44.7	42.4	43.8	44.0	43.8	42.0	37.8	45.7
Semiskilled.....	38.1	36.9	35.5	35.3	33.8	38.9	38.5	32.8	37.8	33.7	41.8
Unskilled.....	40.4	38.6	37.9	40.3	41.8	41.0	41.6	39.8	37.5	40.1	42.8
No usual occupation.....	37.1	39.2	35.6	36.3	24.9	33.5	36.2	38.1	39.5	40.8	43.5

¹ Median.

² Exclusive of heads of families who were nonworkers or whose age was unknown.

heads of farm owner families on relief averaged 46.5 years, the highest average age of any occupational group. On the other hand, farm laborers were the youngest group, averaging only 36.4 years. Skilled laborers, who averaged 43.7 years, had the highest average age of any subgroup of nonagriculturalists. By areas heads of agricultural families had the highest median age (47.5 years) in New England and the lowest (36.1 years) in the Winter Wheat Area.

The three occupational groups with the highest proportion of young heads, 16–24 years of age, were those with no usual occupation (22.1

percent), farm laborers (14.2 percent), and farm croppers (9.8 percent) (appendix table 4). On the other hand, only 4 percent of the farm owner heads of rural families on relief were 16-24 years of age. The farm owners, however, had by far the highest percentage in the age group 55-64 years (25.9 percent).

Negro family heads on relief were much older, on the average, than white heads. In the Eastern Cotton Area the difference was 4.9 years and in the Western Cotton Area it was 7.5 years (table 5). Negroes had a larger percentage than whites in the age group 55-64 years in all occupational classifications except that of farm owner (appendix table 5). The whites had more young family heads and the Negroes more older heads.

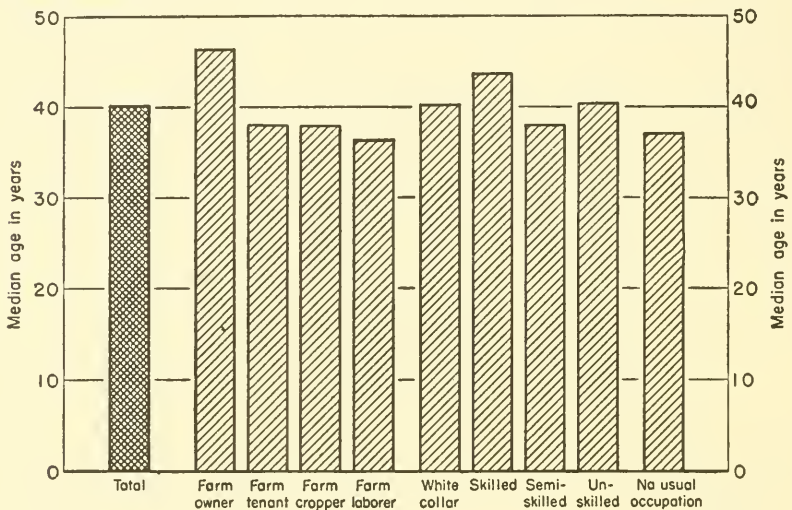


FIG. 9 - MEDIAN AGE OF HEADS* OF RURAL FAMILIES RECEIVING GENERAL RELIEF, BY USUAL OCCUPATION

June 1935

* 16-64 years of age, working or seeking work.

AF-2805, WPA

SEX OF FAMILY HEADS

In actual social situations it is usually assumed that the father and husband is the head of the house. This priority is frequently challenged, but there is sufficient basis in fact for the usage followed in this study. Consequently, by definition, a man will nearly always be the head of the family if he is living in the home and active. Thus, the presence of a woman as the head of a household generally indicates an incomplete family unit.

The western areas of extensive and commercialized agriculture had the smallest proportions of rural relief families with female heads while the southern areas, which include the Eastern and Western Cotton

and Appalachian-Ozark Areas, had the highest proportions of such families (fig. 10 and appendix table 6). An exception to this rule was the families in the Ranching Area which ranked with families in the South in the proportion with female heads. The differences were

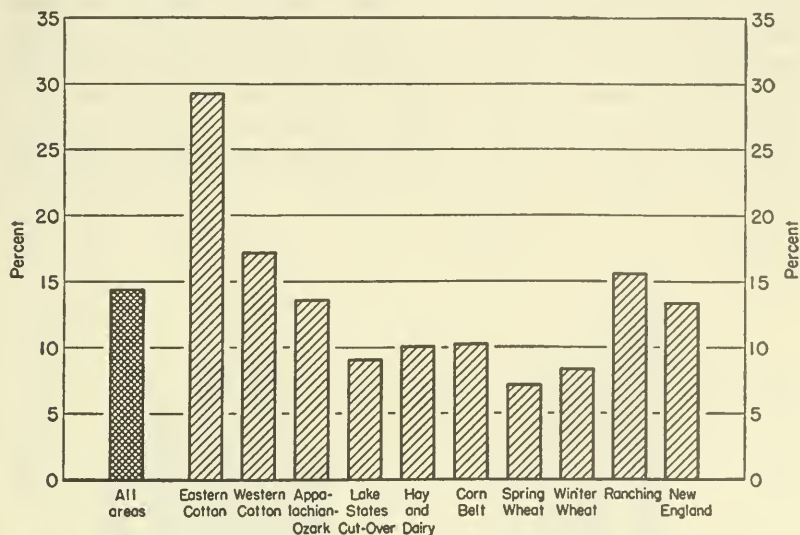


FIG. 10 - PERCENT OF FEMALES AMONG HEADS OF RURAL FAMILIES RECEIVING GENERAL RELIEF, BY AREA
June 1935

AF-2806, WPA

great from area to area. The proportion of female heads varied from 7.2 percent in the Spring Wheat Area to 29.3 percent in the Eastern Cotton Area.

Significant differences also existed between villages and the open country (appendix table 6) inasmuch as village heads were likely to be females almost half again as frequently as were those in the open country. The differences between villages and the open country were least marked in the Eastern Cotton Area and most marked in the Wheat Areas where female heads appeared about three or four times as frequently in the villages as in the open country.

In spite of the fluctuations between the open country and villages and among areas, it should be noted that the average proportion of families with female heads was only 14.4 percent. Since a higher percentage of females than of males in the general rural population is married in each age group up to 45 years, the proportion of females who were heads of rural relief households was really very small.²

² See Stouffer, Samuel A. and Spencer, Lyle M., "Marriage and Divorce in Recent Years," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 188, November 1936, table III, p. 60.

Male heads of families in each area, whether in the open country or in villages, were fairly evenly distributed between the ages of 25 and 54 years (appendix table 7). Usually less than 10 percent were under 25 or over 64 years of age. The peak was at the age group 25-34 years. The age distribution for female heads of families was concentrated at a point about 10 or 15 years later than for male heads (appendix table 8). About two-thirds of the female heads were between the ages of 35 and 64 years, inclusive; about 15 percent were within the groups 25-34 years and 65 years and over; and less than 6 percent were under 25 years of age. These conditions were found to prevail in general among both village and open country families,

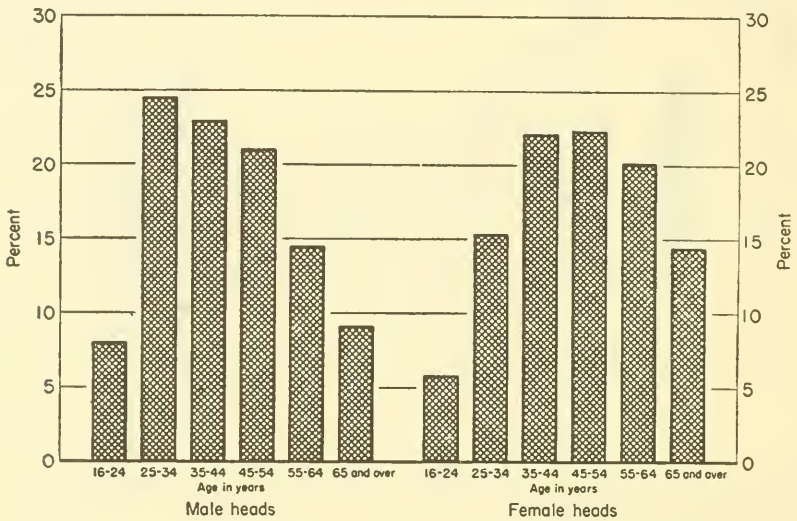


FIG. 11 - AGE OF HEADS OF RURAL FAMILIES RECEIVING GENERAL RELIEF, BY SEX

June 1935

AF-2807, WPA

but the age distribution was more regular for females than for males (fig. 11).

There were certain significant differences among the age distributions for male heads of families by areas. Male heads were youngest in the Wheat Areas with the Southern and Ranching Areas next in rank (appendix table 7). The oldest male heads, on the average, were found in New England. Male heads in the open country were slightly younger than those in villages.

The age distribution for female heads of rural families revealed the same general differences by area and residence as the distribution for male heads. However, the clear uniformities found among male heads were not so outstanding for the females and slightly different

conditions were apparent. For example, open country and village age distributions showed a greater similarity for female than for male heads.

MARITAL CONDITION OF FAMILY HEADS

The marital condition of the head of the family is, for many purposes, a convenient index of various social and cultural conditions. Conditions which lead to marriage or to the breaking up of marriage through divorce, separation, or widowhood are related intimately to fundamental social conditions. Among these social conditions may be listed (1) the type of industry, which might lead to the employment of large numbers of women outside the home and their "emancipation"; (2) economic conditions, which, because of either poverty or prosperity, might result in delayed marriage or else the complete removal of women from outside occupations; and (3) the social customs which regulate the activities of the sexes and which at times disapprove of households "managed" by women.

Most male heads of rural relief families are married while most female heads either have never married or have had their homes broken by divorce, separation, or the death of a husband³ (table 7).

Table 7.—Marital Condition of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Sex and Age, October 1935

[138 counties and 83 New England townships¹]

Sex and marital condition	Total ²	Age in years				
		16-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65 and over
BOTH SEXES						
Number.....	46,722	3,816	11,174	10,874	16,000	4,858
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single.....	9.4	24.5	8.8	6.3	7.7	11.9
Married.....	72.2	69.3	80.5	77.1	70.6	49.1
Widowed.....	13.3	1.9	4.9	10.3	17.4	34.6
Divorced.....	1.2	0.8	1.1	1.5	1.1	1.7
Separated.....	3.9	3.5	4.7	4.8	3.2	2.7
MALE						
Number.....	39,302	3,334	9,756	9,178	13,168	3,866
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single.....	8.8	21.4	7.6	5.7	7.5	12.9
Married.....	83.9	78.2	90.9	89.8	82.4	61.5
Widowed.....	5.4	0.2	0.6	2.5	7.5	22.1
Divorced.....	0.6	—	0.2	0.6	0.8	1.6
Separated.....	1.3	0.2	0.7	1.4	1.8	1.9
FEMALE						
Number.....	7,420	482	1,418	1,696	2,832	992
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single.....	12.7	46.9	16.5	9.2	8.7	7.9
Married.....	10.4	7.1	9.4	8.8	15.7	0.6
Widowed.....	54.7	13.3	34.6	52.4	63.3	83.5
Divorced.....	4.5	6.6	7.1	6.4	2.5	2.2
Separated.....	17.7	26.1	32.4	23.2	9.8	5.8

¹ Townships in Connecticut and Massachusetts only.

² Exclusive of heads of families whose marital condition or age was unknown.

³ Data on marital condition were available for October rather than June 1935. See Introduction, p. XII.

For all areas the highest proportion of female heads married was found among those aged 45-64 years (15.7 percent), while the lowest proportion was found among those aged 65 years and over (0.6 percent). Probably in many of these cases the woman became head of the household because of illness or injury of the male head. In comparison, the highest proportion of married male heads was found in the age group 25-34 years (90.9 percent) and the lowest proportion was found in the oldest age group, 65 years and over (61.5 percent). The peak percentage appeared from 20 to 30 years earlier for males than for females.

A note of warning should be given as to the interpretation of the figures for the marital condition of the head of the family; that is, a high proportion of family heads who were single did not necessarily mean a high proportion of nonfamily types. In many cases where a normal family of parents and children was living at home, an unmarried son or daughter may have been designated as the head. The number of such cases could not be determined with accuracy, but it is certain that this was a factor which tended to increase the proportion of single heads of families.

In the various age groups there were important differences by sex in the marital condition of heads of rural families among areas and between open country and village. Over two-thirds of the male heads 16-24 years of age were married in each area except New England (appendix table 9). Practically none of these youthful heads of families were widowed, divorced, or separated.

Only 1 in 14 of the female heads of families aged 16-24 years was married. Practically all of the married heads were in the Eastern Cotton and Appalachian-Ozark Areas. About one-half of the female heads of this age were single while a large percent were already widowed or separated.

Over 90 percent of all male heads of families who were 25-34 years of age were married. The only area in which the proportion fell below 87 percent was New England with 79.9 percent married (appendix table 10). Very few homes headed by males of this age were broken by widowhood, divorce, or separation so that most of the heads who were not married were single. A higher proportion of married heads was found in the open country than in the villages with the exception of the Wheat and Ranching Areas. In the Winter Wheat Area there was a particularly large proportion of single heads in the open country.

Less than 10 percent of the female heads aged 25-34 years were married. Generally the female head of a relief family in this age group was widowed or deserted; in a relatively small proportion of the cases she was single or divorced. Higher proportions of married and widowed heads were found in the open country than in the villages while village



Resettlement Administration (Lee).

Parents and Children.

heads were more often single, divorced, or separated. The old saying that separation is the poor man's divorce still seems to be true.

About nine-tenths of the male heads of rural families 35-44 years of age were married (appendix table 11). At this age the proportion of widowed, divorced, and separated male heads first became large enough to be significant, but for all areas it was still only 4.5 percent. Male heads of families in the villages were widowed, divorced, or separated slightly more often than those in the open country where a higher percentage of married heads appeared.

Widowed female heads increased from 34.6 percent in the 25-34 year age group to 52.4 percent in the 35-44 year age group. The change was due to a decline in the proportions separated or single. The fact that women outlive men is the important consideration as the groups grow older since a woman has a much greater chance than a man to become widowed.

Over 80 percent of the male heads of rural families 45-64 years of age were married, and most of the nonmarried heads were widowed or single (appendix table 12). There continued to be a somewhat higher proportion of broken homes in the villages than in the open country.

Although the proportion of male heads who were married was still much higher than that of female heads, the proportion of female heads married in this age group had increased for practically all areas. It varied from 1.3 percent in New England to 33.3 percent in the Spring Wheat Area. In each area except the Hay and Dairy Area widowhood was the marital condition of the majority of all female heads.

Among male heads 65 years of age and over, the proportion married had dropped to 61.5 percent (appendix table 13), the smallest proportion for any age group. At the same time, the proportion widowed had increased markedly to 22.1 percent while the proportion that was single (12.9 percent) was higher than for any age group except that 16-24 years. Practically none of the aged female heads were married while five out of every six were widowed.

In summary, male heads were generally married and female heads were widowed (fig. 12). The proportion of male heads married increased until about the age of 40 and then decreased as the wife died or as older male children took over the responsibility for the household. The proportion of heads that was single decreased until about the age of 40 and then increased again. The percent of female heads that was separated increased until 35 years of age and then decreased. As the female heads became older, the proportion of single women decreased and that of widows increased.

The high proportions of married heads of families among females came 10 to 20 years later, on the average, than among males. This can possibly be attributed to the increased probability of injury or illness for the older male heads of families. In such cases the wife

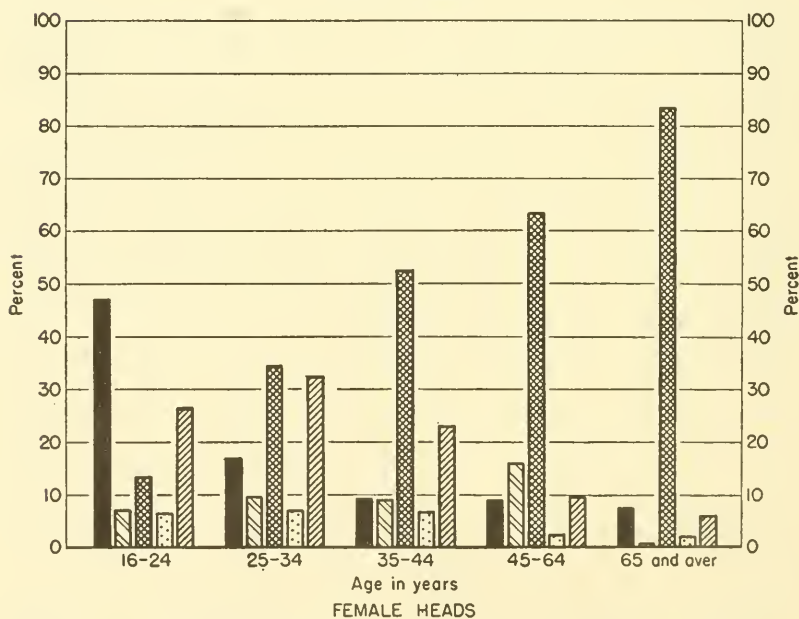
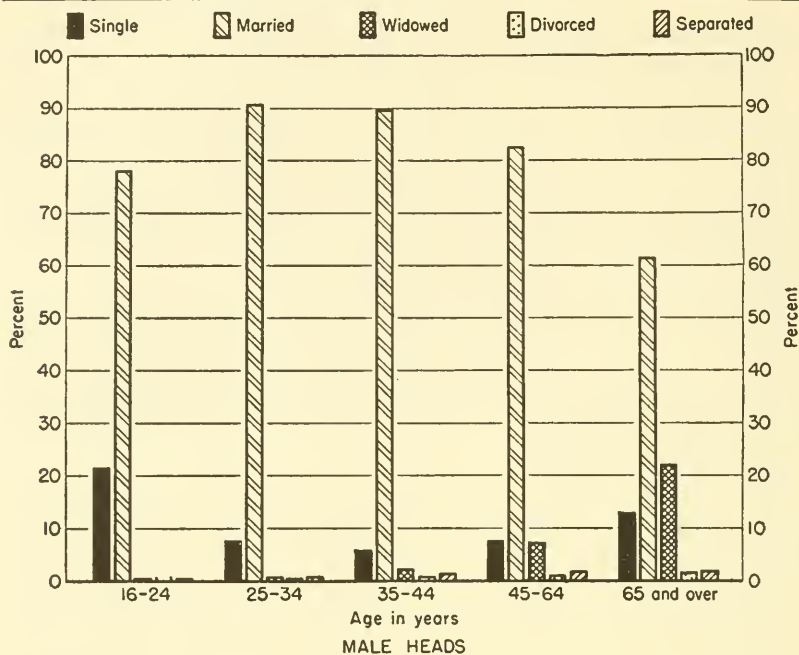


FIG.12-MARITAL CONDITION OF HEADS OF RURAL FAMILIES RECEIVING GENERAL RELIEF, BY SEX AND AGE

June 1935

was almost forced to become the head of the family. Very often she had no usual gainful occupation, resulting in a significant correspondence between high proportions of female heads of families and high proportions of heads of families who had no usual occupation.

Aside from families where the male head was old or incapacitated, the only cases where a female would ordinarily be designated as the head of the household were those in which the home was broken by the death of a husband and father or by separation or divorce. An unmarried female might also be designated as the head of the household in many cases. Thus, it is not surprising that the proportion of broken homes among the families with male heads, although it increased at each age group, was very small. The proportion of widowed male heads increased gradually at each age to 7.5 percent at 45-64 years but was three times as great at the age 65 years and over.

For both sexes there was a well-established uniformity that the proportion married was greater in the open country than in the villages, while the proportion of widowed, divorced, or separated tended to be greater in the villages. In general the same contrasts appeared among the different ages for each area as well as in the total group.

Marital condition also varied for the two races in the South (appendix table 14). The proportion married among white males exceeded the average for Negroes at every age group, while among Negro males larger numbers were widowed or separated than among whites. Divorce was almost completely absent among both groups. In general these differences were found in both the open country and villages.

The proportions of white female heads that were married were small for all age groups in the Cotton Areas, and more Negro than white women were married. None of either race who were 65 years of age and over were married. Even in the youngest age group 1 out of 5 of the white female heads was widowed, and this proportion gradually increased to 9 out of 10 for the group 65 years of age and over. Similarly, large proportions of Negro women were widowed. There was also a high proportion of female heads of families who were separated among both whites and Negroes.

Several factors which are important influences bearing upon the individual and which may affect his marital condition are reflected in the rural relief data. Since these causal influences are interrelated and interdependent, an analysis cannot hope to separate them to show the particular effects of each one. Yet several of the more important can be outlined.

One factor which is important in the analysis of marital condition is its interrelation with the necessity for relief. This, however, is evident only in the background and obviously cannot be separated

without more materials than are at hand. From the significant differences between male and female heads in the proportions which were divorced or separated, it is probable that women heads of broken homes found it necessary to seek relief more often than men. Homes broken by divorce or separation were almost completely absent among the families with male heads; yet in every area and at every age the proportion of such homes with a female head of the family was significant. In all cases it was at least two or three times as high as for families with male heads. The explanation seems to be that after divorce or separation the children are more likely to accompany the mother than the father, and that he, as a single individual, is less subject to economic stress, or less likely to receive relief at any rate, than the remainder of the family with the mother as its head. Approximately the same can be said with regard to widowed heads of families except that the shorter life span of the male obviously increases the number of women who are widowed. Yet, even here, the differences between male and female heads were much too large to be accounted for by the comparatively slight difference in the average length of life.

Differences in marital condition among the areas studied were illustrative of certain background characteristics of a socio-economic nature. The greater industrialization of New England and the North has led to a greater participation in industry by women, and consequently the emancipation of women has reached its most advanced stages in these regions. Accompanying this emancipation is a rapidly rising divorce rate and a general disintegration of the former social rules which have regulated the distribution of rights and duties of the sexes.

The differences between open country and village families are partly a reflection of this same phenomenon, but in purely agricultural areas additional influences are present. Since farming is for the most part a family occupation, families which have been broken in any way tend to congregate in the villages, leaving the larger and more normal families in the open country.

One other related variable may be associated with particular areas of the country. According to certain customs and traditions the husband or father is always the head of the house, and a woman is not expected to be forced to assume such responsibilities. In extreme cases where the home is broken for some reason, remarriage is often the normal course. In areas where the sexes are found to be more equalized in their responsibilities, there is a greater tendency for the woman to take over the place of the male head and to continue the family without remarriage. This tradition of the male head of the family is strongest in the South and West and weakest in New England and has helped to keep down the proportion of broken homes in the former areas.

Chapter IV

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF RURAL RELIEF FAMILIES

THE SIZE and composition of the rural relief family are important from a number of points of view. Large families, or those with numerous dependents and few members gainfully employed or capable of work, may need relief more frequently and in larger amounts than smaller families or those with relatively more workers. Offsetting this is the fact that larger families, other conditions being constant, have more chances than smaller units of having someone who can bring in an income. Also, there is the more general problem of the importance of family solidarity in making for or preventing the need for relief. This applies particularly in a society, such as the contemporary United States, which has gone through a long period of decline in size and of change in composition of its family units.

That the American family has become smaller and smaller since the founding of the country is a well-established fact.¹ Furthermore, the American family varies in size according to a number of characteristics, one of which is its relation to agriculture and another of which is the amount of commercialization in the various areas. In 1930 the average size of all families in the United States was 3.40; whereas that for the urban population was 3.26, for the rural-nonfarm population 3.28, and for the rural-farm population 4.02 (table 8).

Rural-farm families are larger than rural-nonfarm and urban families in all sections of the country. However, the average size is more than four persons for the farm families in the southern divisions as contrasted with less than four persons in the northern and western divisions. The urban and rural-nonfarm families divide the country into two regions on the basis of family size. In the South and West the urban family is the smallest while in the North and Northeast the rural-nonfarm family is the smallest. These differences are due to a number of reasons, but among them commercialization, industrialization, and

¹ See Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., 1933, p. 415.

Table 8.—Average ¹ Size of Families in the United States, by Division and Residence, 1930

Division	Average size			
	Total	Urban	Rural-nonfarm	Rural-farm
United States.....	3.40	3.26	3.28	4.02
New England.....	3.39	3.44	3.15	3.45
Middle Atlantic.....	3.43	3.42	3.38	3.71
East North Central.....	3.32	3.27	3.11	3.75
West North Central.....	3.34	3.14	3.02	3.91
South Atlantic.....	3.76	3.28	3.66	4.56
East South Central.....	3.69	3.22	3.52	4.15
West South Central.....	3.57	3.23	3.38	4.14
Mountain.....	3.33	3.13	3.23	3.86
Pacific.....	2.83	2.75	2.87	3.31

¹ Median.Source: Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, Population Vol. VI, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., 1933.

regional patterns play very important roles. In addition, the percent of foreign-born in the northeastern cities probably has increased the urban family size at least temporarily.

SIZE OF RURAL RELIEF FAMILIES

The function of relief is to take care of needy families. When relief facilities are limited, it seems likely that the policy of most relief administrators would be to give the money where there are the most mouths to feed. As a result, one would expect to find relief families of a larger average size than nonrelief households² (fig. 13). Such differences between relief and nonrelief families have not been very great, however, indicating that the problem of relief is not so much one of large families versus small families as of the difficulties which different types of relatively small families have had during the depression.

Of all rural cases receiving relief in June 1935, 9.9 percent were one-person households (appendix table 15). This was a 2 percent greater proportion of one-person households than was found for the whole rural United States in the 1930 Census (7.7 percent).³ Since the period 1930-1935 tended by its economic pressure to force a decrease in the number of persons living alone,⁴ these data lead to the con-

² See McCormick, T. C., *Comparative Study of Rural Relief and Non-Relief Households*, Research Monograph II, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1935, pp. 22-25.

³ Since a small number of so-called partnership families were classified as one-person families by the 1930 Census, the difference in the proportion of one-person families would be slightly greater than the data indicate.

⁴ A severe economic depression tends at first to increase social solidarity. Persons who live alone, if they continue to be gainfully employed or to have an income, tend to share it with others to a much greater extent than formerly. Furthermore, it is a frequent practice of business firms to lay off last of all, among those of equal merit, the individuals who have families to support.

clusion that the proportion of one-person households receiving relief in rural districts in 1935 was very much greater than could be expected from a normal sample of the population.

The importance of this fact should not be neglected. It is commonly believed that a great deal of relief has been necessitated by rather large families. Such a popular conception is to be expected in a society which is changing from an increasing to a stable or declining population and has not yet become generally aware of the new conditions which exist. It is generally forgotten that family membership is not only a matter of obligation but also a privilege. In a clear-cut case in which a depression would take place in a country with little or no public relief facilities,⁵ this would come out more

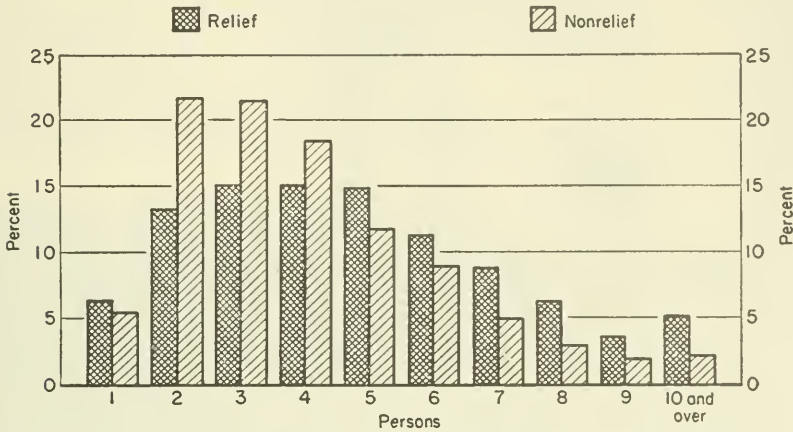


FIG. 13 - SIZE OF RURAL RELIEF AND NONRELIEF HOUSEHOLDS
October 1933

Source: McCormick, T. C., *Comparative Study of Rural Relief and Non-Relief Households*, Research Monograph II, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1935, p. 24

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clearly than it has in the United States. During a depression isolated individuals who are largely bereft of family membership come under an unusual strain. If they are fortunate and have a source of income, unemployed relatives and other indigent persons of no legal claim upon them generally try to share their livelihood. If the isolated individuals have neither money nor positions, they must either beg,

⁵ See ch. IV by Zimmerman, Carle C., in *Problems of the New Cuba*, New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1935, for a description of family behavior in such a case.

starve, or accept relief.⁶ Thus, there are other implications to a study of the family on relief than the sole matter of the pressure of the number of mouths to feed upon the formerly employed wage earner.

These generalizations concerning one-person households apply to all areas in the United States. In the Lake States Cut-Over Area more than one-fifth (21.8 percent) of all households on relief in June 1935 consisted of persons living alone (appendix table 15). These were cases of former woodsmen or of isolated individuals who had settled on a piece of land or in a village in the Cut-Over Area when the timber had been cut.

On the other hand, an unusually high proportion of the relief load consisted of large families. According to the 1930 Census 23.3 percent of the total rural population had six or more members. However, 27.9 percent of all rural relief families contained six persons or more. The respective percentage for the open country was 32.2 and for villages, 22.3. Thus, the relief families had a considerably higher proportion of households with six or more persons than the total rural families in the country. This conclusion probably applies to all of the agricultural areas.

The 1930 Census showed that 39.9 percent of all rural families had from two to three members as compared with 33.3 percent for the relief families, and that 29.1 percent had from four to five members as compared with 28.9 percent for the relief families. Thus, it would seem that nonrelief families had higher proportions of families with two to three members, whereas those on relief had higher proportions with only one person or with six persons or more. Families with four to five members were found in about equal proportions among both relief and nonrelief groups.

Open country families on relief were larger than those in the villages (table 9). The largest open country relief families were in the Appalachian-Ozark and Spring Wheat Areas. In the villages only the Spring Wheat Area had disproportionately large families.

The differences in size between the open country and the village families were very important as indicated by the fact that the median-

⁶ A further study of family solidarity during the depression by Carle C. Zimmerman, J. H. Useem, and Wendell Bash in cooperation with the National Research Project which dealt with industrial towns in New England showed that employment differentiated families so that those which had members with positions would tend to have fewer employables unemployed than those which did not have members with positions. These were cases of industrial wage earners in rubber, woolens, automobile bodies, and other types of manufacturing. The chief wage earner was eliminated from the computation. It was clear in the 4 towns of less than 10,000 population studied that the depression differentiated the common masses of the people, much more sharply than before, into those who did and those who did not have a livelihood. Family solidarity was a factor in this, and in that respect oftentimes counteracted efforts to share the work so that all would have some sort of a livelihood.



Resettlement Administration (Lange).

After the Children Have Left Home.

sized family was 4.2 persons for the open country and 3.5 persons for the villages. The proportion of relief households which consisted of one-person families was much greater in the villages than in the open country, 12.5 and 7.5 percent, respectively (appendix table 15). Such a conclusion as this hardly applies, however, to the Lake States Cut-Over Area where one-person households comprised 21.2 percent of the open country relief load as contrasted with 22.9 percent of the village load. Neither does it apply to the Ranching Area where one-person households on relief in the open country accounted for 19.4 percent of the total as contrasted with 16.7 percent in the villages. In all other areas, however, the conclusion does apply.

Table 9.—Average Size of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Area and Residence, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Area	Total rural		Open country		Village	
	Median	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	Mean
All areas.....	3.9	4.3	4.2	4.6	3.5	3.9
Eastern Cotton.....	3.7	4.1	3.9	4.3	3.4	3.8
Western Cotton.....	3.8	4.2	4.1	4.4	3.4	3.8
Appalachian-Ozark.....	4.3	4.7	4.7	5.0	3.5	3.9
Lake States Cut-Over.....	3.4	3.9	3.4	4.0	3.3	3.7
Hay and Dairy.....	3.8	4.3	4.1	4.5	3.6	4.0
Corn Belt.....	3.8	4.1	4.1	4.4	3.5	4.0
Spring Wheat.....	4.4	4.9	4.7	5.2	3.8	4.3
Winter Wheat.....	3.9	4.2	4.2	4.5	3.5	3.8
Ranching.....	3.5	3.9	3.5	3.9	3.5	3.9
New England.....	3.5	3.9	—	—	—	—

The median size of the agricultural family receiving relief was 4.6 persons as contrasted with 4.0 persons for the nonagricultural family (table 10). This was not due to age differences because the average nonagricultural family had a head 41.0 years of age as contrasted with the median age for agricultural families of 40.5 years (table 6, p. 25).

Table 10.—Average ¹ Size of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Usual Occupation of Head and Area, June 1935

[138 counties]

Usual occupation of head	All areas ²	Eastern Cotton	Western Cotton	Appalachian-Ozark	Lake States Cut-Over	Hay and Dairy	Corn Belt	Spring Wheat	Winter Wheat	Ranching
Total.....	4.0	3.7	3.8	4.3	3.4	3.8	3.8	4.4	3.9	3.5
Agriculture.....	4.6	4.4	4.5	5.0	4.4	4.8	4.3	4.8	4.2	4.2
Farm operator.....	4.9	4.6	4.6	5.1	5.3	5.4	4.5	5.0	4.6	4.4
Owner.....	5.0	4.4	4.5	5.4	4.5	5.1	4.4	5.6	4.5	4.4
Tenant.....	5.0	5.1	4.9	4.9	5.8	5.5	4.5	4.8	4.6	4.4
Cropper.....	4.5	4.4	4.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Farm laborer.....	4.0	4.1	4.3	4.0	2.8	4.0	4.1	3.1	3.5	3.9
Nonagriculture.....	4.0	3.9	3.8	4.3	3.7	4.1	3.9	4.3	3.8	3.8
No usual occupation or nonworker.....	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.4	1.0	2.0	2.1	2.3	2.2	1.7

¹ Median.

² Exclusive of New England.

However, within the agricultural group farm owners' and tenants' families had a median size of 5.0 as contrasted with 4.5 for croppers and 4.0 for farm laborers. These differences were due, in part at least, to the fact that the heads of the owner families had a median age of 47.0 years as contrasted with 38.4 years and 38.5 years for croppers and tenants, respectively, and 36.9 years for farm laborers. If it be assumed that the average woman is 2 years younger than her husband, the average wife of a farm owner had practically reached the end of the childbearing period while the wife of a cropper, tenant, or laborer had 8 years or more of possible fertility ahead of her.

One-person households constituted a small proportion of the total in each occupational group with the exception of the group in which the head had no usual occupation or was a nonworker. There it reached 30.6 percent (appendix table 16). In the two Cotton Areas more than one-fifth of the white households in this group were one-person families as contrasted with more than two-fifths of the Negro families. Large families of six persons or more were found more often among the agriculturalists than among the nonagriculturalists (37.1 percent as compared with 27.4 percent). Large families were more frequent among owners than among tenants or croppers, due at least in part to the age factor discussed above.

AGE COMPOSITION

Children under 16 years of age were overrepresented in relief families as compared with all rural families in the United States (table 11). This conclusion applied with varying degrees of intensity to all nine agricultural areas surveyed. Youth 16-24 years of age formed about the same proportion of the relief group as of the total rural population although there were considerable variations from area to area. The general population tended to have a higher proportion of adults than did the relief families. This is evidence that a greater proportion of wage earners in families is one factor in weathering a depression. It is in the age group from 35 to 44 years that the general rural population exceeded the relief families most of all. A slightly higher proportion of aged persons was to be found in the general rural population than among the relief families. The really important differences may be summarized by the statement that *relief families have a higher proportion of children and a smaller proportion of adults of working age than does the total rural population.*

Children under 10 years of age were proportionately most numerous in the relief families in the Spring Wheat Area, reflecting the larger average size of family in that area (appendix table 17). New England was characterized by a small proportion of children under 10 years of age and a high proportion of aged persons 65 years and over. This reflects the tendency toward limitation of family size which has been

Table 11.—Age of Persons in Rural Families Receiving General Relief, June 1935, and Age of All Rural Persons, 1930,¹ by Area

[138 counties]

Area and group	Total		Age in years						
	Number	Per cent	Under 16	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over
ALL AREAS²									
Persons receiving relief.....	253, 636	100.0	43.3	16.3	12.0	9.7	8.0	5.5	5.2
All persons.....	2,413, 676	100.0	37.4	16.5	12.7	11.7	9.6	6.5	5.6
EASTERN COTTON									
Persons receiving relief.....	31, 670	100.0	42.5	15.6	11.9	9.4	7.9	5.9	6.8
All persons.....	629, 355	100.0	41.8	18.3	12.2	10.6	8.7	4.9	3.5
WESTERN COTTON									
Persons receiving relief.....	30, 556	100.0	42.8	16.7	12.5	9.3	7.4	5.1	6.2
All persons.....	295, 280	100.0	37.2	17.4	12.7	10.5	13.2	5.1	3.9
APPALACHIAN-OZARK									
Persons receiving relief.....	79, 508	100.0	44.7	17.2	11.8	9.2	7.6	5.1	4.4
All persons.....	412, 232	100.0	41.7	16.8	12.2	10.7	8.5	5.5	4.6
LAKE STATES CUT-OVER									
Persons receiving relief.....	14, 586	100.0	40.0	17.3	12.2	9.6	8.9	6.1	5.9
All persons.....	54, 807	100.0	36.5	15.3	12.0	12.6	10.8	7.2	5.6
HAY AND DAIRY									
Persons receiving relief.....	37, 004	100.0	44.0	14.9	10.6	10.7	8.9	5.6	5.3
All persons.....	465, 034	100.0	32.2	14.0	12.5	13.0	11.2	8.7	8.4
CORN BELT									
Persons receiving relief.....	31, 130	100.0	40.5	15.6	12.5	10.3	9.2	6.5	5.4
All persons.....	378, 512	100.0	31.8	15.1	13.3	12.8	10.8	8.2	8.0
SPRING WHEAT									
Persons receiving relief.....	16, 472	100.0	46.9	16.3	13.5	9.3	6.9	4.2	2.9
All persons.....	68, 944	100.0	39.7	17.3	13.0	11.6	9.3	5.3	3.8
WINTER WHEAT									
Persons receiving relief.....	5, 388	100.0	40.3	18.3	14.1	11.0	7.5	4.9	3.9
All persons.....	50, 478	100.0	34.3	17.0	14.4	12.8	9.9	6.3	5.3
RANCHING									
Persons receiving relief.....	7, 322	100.0	43.6	15.1	12.0	9.6	7.3	6.4	6.0
All persons.....	59, 034	100.0	33.1	15.7	13.5	13.7	11.0	7.2	5.8

¹ Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Vol. II*, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., 1933.

² Exclusive of New England.

carried farther in New England than in the other regions of the United States, even in the lowest economic groups. As the number of children becomes less, the proportion of old persons increases relatively. For a long time these results in New England have been masked by the coming in of new waves of immigrant families, but their birth rates in turn have followed the traditional downward course until the results are now readily apparent.⁷

⁷ For proof, see Baker, O. E., "Rural-Urban Migration and the National Welfare," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. XXIII, 1933, pp. 59-126; and Spengler, Joseph J., *The Fecundity of Native and Foreign-Born Women in New England*, The Brookings Institution Pamphlet Series, Vol. II, No. 1, Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1930.

Open country families on relief had a significantly higher proportion of children under 10 years of age than village families (appendix table 17). This was true of all areas surveyed. In contrast the villages had a larger proportion of aged in all areas except the Eastern Cotton.

Negro families receiving relief had many more persons 65 years of age and over than did white families in the two Cotton Areas (appendix table 17). Concerning this difference Mangus has said:

The practice of "splitting" families may account in part for the smaller relief benefits received by Negro cases in rural areas. In many instances landlords are willing to "take care of" the productive members of their tenant families but shift the care of aged dependent members to the relief agency. Hence, one or two members of the tenant or cropper family may receive small relief benefits while the other members of the household receive support from the landowner. It is probable that white tenants offer more resistance than do Negroes to such shifting of responsibility on the part of the landlord.⁸

Thus, much of the argument over whether agricultural restrictions cause a reduction or not in the number of tenant families on the cotton plantation becomes somewhat clearer when it is recognized that a landlord who furnishes supplies to his tenants can split off the non-productive members and put them on relief. A family of three crop hands can be broken up into a unit of two crop hands with few dependents and another unit with one crop hand and a majority of the dependents. Legally the plantation has as many tenants as before, but economically the landlord avoids the burden of furnishing supplies to a large family and has a smaller number of crop hands for his reduced acreage.⁹

SEX COMPOSITION

Ordinarily, slightly more males than females are born. However, males die more rapidly than females. As a result males tend to predominate in the younger age groups, but the proportion of females increases in the older ages. The sex distribution of the population is also affected by the fact that females tend to concentrate in urban areas to a greater extent than males. The situation is influenced by the fact that long-distance migration, such as immigration into a country, is more of a male phenomenon, whereas short-distance migration, particularly to cities and to an urban environment, is more of a female phenomenon.

⁸ Mangus, A. R., *The Rural Negro on Relief, February 1935*, Research Bulletin H-3, Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C., October 17, 1935, p. 6.

⁹ See Richards, Henry I., *Cotton and the AAA*, Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1936, p. 150 ff., for this argument on the influence of cotton restriction on displacement of tenants. For data from the relief standpoint, see Woolfer, T. J., Jr., *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation*, Research Monograph V, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1936, pp. 153-161.



Farm Security Administration (Lee).

A Motherless Home.

In 1930 there were 102.5 males per 100 females in the United States, and this was the lowest count of males relative to females in any census year since 1830 with the exception of 1870 when the ratio of males per 100 females was 102.2. In 1930 there were 98.1 males per 100 females in American urban districts and 108.3 males per 100 females in the rural population. The rural-farm population had 111.0 males for every 100 females as contrasted with 105.0 males per 100 females in the rural-nonfarm population.

In the rural relief population of June 1935, 50.9 percent of all persons were males as contrasted with 49.1 percent who were females (appendix table 18). This was a sex ratio of 104 males per 100 females.

When the rural relief population was analyzed by sex according to agricultural areas, it was found that there were more males than females in all areas except the Eastern and Western Cotton. In the open country population males predominated in all except the Eastern Cotton Area while in the village population males predominated in all except the Cotton and Wheat Areas.

In comparing the sex ratio by age groups for the rural relief population in June 1935 with the general rural population in 1930, the most conspicuous differences were the overrepresentation of females in the relief population for the age groups 10-44 years and the overrepresentation of males in the age group 65 years and over (table 12). Males under 10 years of age and males 55-64 years of age were found on relief in about equal proportions to their numbers in the general population, and males 45-54 years of age were only slightly underrepresented on relief.

Table 12.—Sex Ratio of the Rural Relief Population,¹ June 1935, and of the General Rural Population,² 1930, by Age and Residence

Age	Sex ratio					
	Rural relief population			General rural population		
	Total rural	Open country	Village	Total rural	Farm	Nonfarm
Under 10 years.....	104	105	103	103	103	103
10-24 years.....	98	101	94	107	112	99
25-34 years.....	97	98	94	103	102	104
35-44 years.....	96	99	92	118	103	142
45-54 years.....	109	111	102	117	118	115
55-64 years.....	125	136	114	124	137	111
65 years and over.....	136	146	121	120	139	104

¹ 138 counties.

² Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, Population Vol. II, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., 1933.

Chapter V

DEPENDENT AGE GROUPS

THE TERM *dependent* as used in relief surveys included all persons who were under 16 or over 64 years of age. Detailed information was not recorded concerning dependent persons between the ages of 16 and 64 years nor was any distinction made between those persons 65 years of age and over who were self-supporting and those who were not. Hence, the present chapter deals only with the two arbitrarily defined dependent age groups and excludes dependents within the productive ages, 16-64 years.

DEPENDENTS BY AREA

From the standpoint of dependents relief families were of all types. Some had children or aged dependents and others did not. One out of five of the relief families studied in June 1935 was composed of persons 16-64 years of age only; three out of five had children under 16 years of age but no one over 64 years; one out of eight had aged individuals 65 years of age and over but no children under 16; while one out of twenty had both children and aged persons (fig. 14 and appendix table 19).

The proportions of families having no persons in the dependent ages varied somewhat among the agricultural areas of the country and were related to the type of economy and the "age" of the area. They ranged from 17.6 percent in the Appalachian-Ozark Area to 27.4 percent in New England and 28.9 percent in the Lake States Cut-Over Area. The South was low and the West and North, except for the Spring Wheat Area which was affected by its high birth rate, were high in this respect. The areas reversed their order in the proportions having children under 16 years of age with the lowest percent (55.4) in New England and the Lake States Cut-Over Area and the highest percent (72.3) in the Appalachian-Ozark Area. The Spring Wheat Area was also outstanding with 71.5 percent of its relief families containing children. Similarly, the highest proportions of families having persons 65 years of age and over were found



FIG. 14 - RURAL FAMILIES RECEIVING GENERAL RELIEF WITH PERSONS IN DEPENDENT AGE GROUPS, BY RESIDENCE

June 1935

in New England and in the two Cotton Areas. The lowest proportions were in the newly settled Wheat Areas. In general the differences between the open country and villages were consistent with those discussed in previous chapters. In every area there was a higher proportion of families which had children under 16 years of age in the open country than in the villages. Likewise, in the villages there were more families with aged persons and more families having no members within the dependent age groups. In general the areas were ranked in regard to young dependents according to their comparative birth rates, and the areas with the highest birth rates had the smallest proportions of families with adults only.

DEPENDENTS BY COLOR

White and Negro rural relief families in the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas differed significantly with respect to dependents. About 15 percent more of the white families had only dependent children while about 10 percent more of the Negro families had only aged dependents. Also, about 5 percent more of the Negro than of the white families had both children and aged as dependents. This difference may be largely due to the practice of many plantations in the South, previously referred to, of splitting the Negro families so as to keep the able-bodied members on the plantation and to place most of the disabled or aged members on relief.¹

This is not a complete explanation, however, since the relative differences in the proportions of relief families which had dependent children existed both in the open country and in the villages. Among both whites and Negroes consistently more families with dependent children lived in the open country than in the villages. The tendency to split the Negro plantation family was most evident in the fact that in the open country twice as many Negro families as white families contained both dependent children and aged persons while the proportions were more nearly equal in the villages.

AGED AND JUVENILE DEPENDENTS IN THE SAME HOUSEHOLD

The rural family has remained most united in the Cotton and Appalachian-Ozark Areas as measured by the proportion of relief households having dependents both under 16 and over 64 years of age (appendix table 19). Moreover, 37.5 percent of such families in the Appalachian-Ozark Area had four or more dependents as contrasted with 33.9 percent in all areas (table 13). In the open country of the Eastern Cotton and Appalachian-Ozark Areas 40 percent of these families had four or more dependents. The proportion among the village families of the Corn Belt was almost equally high.

¹ See p. 42.

Table 13.—Rural Families Receiving General Relief With Persons Both Under 16 and Over 64 Years of Age,¹ by Number of Such Persons, Residence, and Area, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total		Persons under 16 and over 64 years of age		
	Number	Percent	2	3	4 or more
TOTAL RURAL					
All areas.....	3,339	100.0	37.3	28.8	33.9
Eastern Cotton.....	628	100.0	41.7	23.9	34.4
White.....	322	100.0	39.8	24.8	35.4
Negro.....	306	100.0	43.8	22.9	33.3
Western Cotton.....	454	100.0	43.6	27.3	29.1
White.....	284	100.0	44.3	29.6	26.1
Negro.....	170	100.0	42.4	23.5	34.1
Appalachian-Ozark.....	1,066	100.0	30.2	32.3	37.5
Lake States Cut-Over.....	138	100.0	36.3	33.3	30.4
Hay and Dairy.....	344	100.0	39.6	26.7	33.7
Corn Belt.....	332	100.0	36.7	27.1	36.2
Spring Wheat.....	94	100.0	34.0	29.8	36.2
Winter Wheat.....	38	†	†	†	†
Ranching.....	60	100.0	53.3	30.0	16.7
New England.....	185	100.0	38.9	33.0	28.1
OPEN COUNTRY					
All areas ²	2,202	100.0	34.7	28.1	37.2
Eastern Cotton.....	476	100.0	36.1	23.1	40.8
White.....	236	100.0	32.2	24.6	43.2
Negro.....	240	100.0	40.0	21.7	38.3
Western Cotton.....	318	100.0	39.6	28.3	32.1
White.....	194	100.0	39.2	30.9	29.9
Negro.....	124	100.0	40.3	24.2	35.5
Appalachian-Ozark.....	844	100.0	29.9	30.1	40.0
Lake States Cut-Over.....	96	100.0	39.6	27.1	33.3
Hay and Dairy.....	210	100.0	37.2	29.5	33.3
Corn Belt.....	148	100.0	39.2	27.0	33.8
Spring Wheat.....	62	100.0	32.3	32.3	35.4
Winter Wheat.....	26	†	†	†	†
Ranching.....	22	†	†	†	†
VILLAGE					
All areas ²	952	100.0	42.9	29.6	27.5
Eastern Cotton.....	152	100.0	59.2	26.3	14.5
White.....	86	100.0	60.4	25.6	14.0
Negro.....	66	100.0	57.5	27.3	15.2
Western Cotton.....	136	100.0	52.9	25.0	22.1
White.....	90	100.0	55.5	26.7	17.8
Negro.....	46	†	†	†	†
Appalachian-Ozark.....	222	100.0	31.5	40.6	27.9
Lake States Cut-Over.....	42	†	†	†	†
Hay and Dairy.....	134	100.0	43.3	22.4	34.3
Corn Belt.....	184	100.0	34.8	27.2	38.0
Spring Wheat.....	32	†	†	†	†
Winter Wheat.....	12	†	†	—	†
Ranching.....	35	†	†	†	†

†Percent not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases.

¹ See appendix table 19.

² Exclusive of New England.

The contrast between white and Negro families on relief in regard to juvenile or aged dependents was again brought out by the number of such dependents (table 13). In the open country the proportion of Negro families with two dependents was larger than the proportion of white families while in the villages the reverse was true. A larger proportion of Negro than of white families in the Western Cotton Area had four or more dependents while in the Eastern Cotton Area more of the white families had this many dependents.



Resettlement Administration (Shabu).

Sharecropper's Widow and Child.



Works Progress Administration.

Old Age.

DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Among relief families whose only dependents were children under 16 years of age, the proportion of families which had three children or more increased from 43.8 percent in New England to 52.2 percent in the Appalachian-Ozark Area and to 55.9 percent in the Spring Wheat Area (table 14). With the exception of the Appalachian-Ozark Area the southern areas ranked low and fell below the average for all areas.

Table 14.—Rural Families Receiving General Relief With Children Under 16 Years of Age,¹ by Number of Children, Residence, and Area, June 1935
[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total		Number of children		
	Number	Percent	1	2	3 or more
TOTAL RURAL					
All areas.....	37,975	100.0	26.5	24.1	48.4
Eastern Cotton.....	4,414	100.0	26.9	25.4	47.7
White.....	3,182	100.0	26.1	27.5	46.4
Negro.....	1,232	100.0	29.0	20.0	51.0
Western Cotton.....	4,362	100.0	26.9	25.0	48.1
White.....	3,460	100.0	27.7	25.7	46.6
Negro.....	902	100.0	23.7	22.4	53.9
Appalachian-Ozark.....	11,232	100.0	24.8	23.0	52.2
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,966	100.0	28.6	24.0	47.4
Hay and Dairy.....	5,224	100.0	26.4	23.5	50.1
Corn Belt.....	4,354	100.0	28.2	26.4	45.4
Spring Wheat.....	2,318	100.0	24.3	19.8	55.9
Winter Wheat.....	802	100.0	26.7	29.2	44.1
Ranching.....	1,098	100.0	27.1	24.6	48.3
New England.....	2,205	100.0	30.8	25.4	43.8
OPEN COUNTRY					
All areas ²	23,138	100.0	24.5	23.2	52.3
Eastern Cotton.....	2,930	100.0	25.3	24.5	50.2
White.....	2,176	100.0	24.7	26.1	49.2
Negro.....	754	100.0	26.8	19.9	53.3
Western Cotton.....	2,952	100.0	25.5	24.7	49.8
White.....	2,340	100.0	26.4	25.5	48.1
Negro.....	612	100.0	22.2	21.6	56.2
Appalachian-Ozark.....	8,470	100.0	22.9	22.1	55.0
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,300	100.0	28.0	23.1	48.9
Hay and Dairy.....	3,212	100.0	25.5	22.9	51.6
Corn Belt.....	1,738	100.0	25.9	27.0	47.1
Spring Wheat.....	1,712	100.0	23.3	18.9	57.8
Winter Wheat.....	440	100.0	21.8	31.8	46.4
Ranching.....	384	100.0	28.6	22.4	49.0
VILLAGE					
All areas ²	12,632	100.0	29.5	25.5	45.0
Eastern Cotton.....	1,484	100.0	30.3	27.1	42.6
White.....	1,006	100.0	29.2	30.4	40.4
Negro.....	478	100.0	32.6	20.1	47.3
Western Cotton.....	1,410	100.0	29.6	25.7	44.7
White.....	1,120	100.0	30.3	26.1	43.6
Negro.....	290	100.0	26.9	24.1	49.0
Appalachian-Ozark.....	2,762	100.0	30.8	25.5	43.7
Lake States Cut-Over.....	666	100.0	29.7	25.8	44.5
Hay and Dairy.....	2,012	100.0	27.8	24.4	47.8
Corn Belt.....	2,616	100.0	29.8	25.9	44.3
Spring Wheat.....	606	100.0	27.4	22.1	50.5
Winter Wheat.....	362	100.0	32.6	26.0	41.4
Ranching.....	714	100.0	26.3	25.8	47.9

¹ Exclusive of cases with both children and aged persons. See appendix table 19.

² Exclusive of New England.

White families on relief had fewer dependent children than Negro families in both the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas. In these

areas over one-half of the Negro families and about 46 percent of the white families had three dependent children or more. This reveals again the separation of many Negro households resulting in the placing of disproportionately large numbers of children on relief, but it suggests also that the relief problem for the white family in the South is not one "caused" primarily by large numbers of children or by a high birth rate but by other factors.

AGED DEPENDENTS

Of the rural families on relief which had only aged dependents three out of four had one such person and one out of four had two persons (table 15). Practically none had three persons or more.

Table 15.—Rural Families Receiving General Relief With Aged Persons,¹ by Number of Aged,² Residence, and Area, June 1935
[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total		Number of aged persons		
	Number	Percent	1	2	3 or more
TOTAL RURAL					
All areas.....	8,226	100.0	73.5	26.0	0.5
Eastern Cotton.....	1,096	100.0	72.3	26.6	1.1
White.....	548	100.0	67.5	31.4	1.1
Negro.....	548	100.0	77.0	21.9	1.1
Western Cotton.....	1,074	100.0	71.7	28.1	0.2
White.....	654	100.0	69.4	30.3	0.3
Negro.....	420	100.0	75.2	24.8	—
Appalachian-Ozark.....	1,728	100.0	72.0	27.4	0.6
Lake States Cut-Over.....	594	100.0	82.2	17.8	—
Hay and Dairy.....	1,234	100.0	72.0	27.7	0.3
Corn Belt.....	1,038	100.0	73.4	25.8	0.8
Spring Wheat.....	292	100.0	73.3	26.7	—
Winter Wheat.....	118	100.0	62.7	33.9	3.4
Ranching.....	310	100.0	81.3	18.7	—
New England.....	742	100.0	76.0	23.7	0.3
OPEN COUNTRY					
All areas ³	4,082	100.0	71.4	27.9	0.7
Eastern Cotton.....	762	100.0	68.8	29.9	1.3
White.....	378	100.0	64.5	34.4	1.1
Negro.....	384	100.0	72.9	25.5	1.6
Western Cotton.....	640	100.0	67.2	32.5	0.3
White.....	396	100.0	66.7	32.8	0.5
Negro.....	244	100.0	68.0	32.0	—
Appalachian-Ozark.....	1,088	100.0	70.6	28.7	0.7
Lake States Cut-Over.....	374	100.0	81.3	18.7	—
Hay and Dairy.....	626	100.0	72.5	27.2	0.3
Corn Belt.....	302	100.0	72.9	25.8	1.3
Spring Wheat.....	140	100.0	70.0	30.0	—
Winter Wheat.....	50	100.0	56.0	36.0	8.0
Ranching.....	100	100.0	88.0	12.0	—
VILLAGE					
All areas ³	3,402	100.0	75.5	24.2	0.3
Eastern Cotton.....	334	100.0	80.2	19.2	0.6
White.....	170	100.0	74.1	24.7	1.2
Negro.....	164	100.0	86.6	13.4	—
Western Cotton.....	434	100.0	78.3	21.7	—
White.....	258	100.0	73.6	26.4	—
Negro.....	176	100.0	85.2	14.8	—
Appalachian-Ozark.....	640	100.0	74.4	25.3	0.3
Lake States Cut-Over.....	220	100.0	83.6	16.4	—
Hay and Dairy.....	608	100.0	71.4	28.3	0.3
Corn Belt.....	736	100.0	73.7	25.8	0.5
Spring Wheat.....	152	100.0	76.3	23.7	—
Winter Wheat.....	68	100.0	67.6	32.4	—
Ranching.....	210	100.0	78.1	21.9	—

¹ 65 years of age and over.

² Exclusive of cases with both children and aged persons. See appendix table 19.

³ Exclusive of New England.

In the Eastern Cotton Area 29.9 percent of the families in the open country had two aged dependents as contrasted with 19.2 percent of the village families, and in the Western Cotton Area 32.5 percent of the open country families had two aged dependents as compared with 21.7 percent in villages. In the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas about 5 to 10 percent more of the white families than of the Negro families had two aged dependents. The difference between races in the open country of the Western Cotton Area was negligible, however.

The proportion of families with one aged dependent varied from four out of five in the Lake States Cut-Over and Ranching Areas to three out of five in the Winter Wheat Area. These differences were accentuated in the open country, where as high as 88.0 percent of the families in the Ranching Area had one aged dependent. At the opposite extreme was the Winter Wheat Area with only 56.0 percent.

GENERAL SIGNIFICANCE OF DEPENDENT AGE GROUPS

In general a large number of dependents in a family may be an indication of a prolific population, where a high birth rate results in large families, or it may indicate a high degree of family solidarity. In other words, the family clings together to a great extent; and when it is finally forced upon relief, a large number of persons are found in a single unit. Again, there is the possibility, as shown by the families in the Cotton Areas, that there may be a splitting of families with a tendency to push aged persons upon relief and to leave the younger employables to fend for themselves without the responsibility for other individuals. All of these factors operate to increase the number of old or young dependents on relief.

The question of dependency and relief is related principally, however, to the basic economic and cultural factors in any particular region. The predominant industries and occupations determine the extent to which the head of a family will be able to care for his dependents continuously, and the cultural traditions to a large extent determine the internal solidarity and cohesiveness of the family unit. This does not even consider such fundamental problems as sanitation, health, and disease which may through debilitating conditions bring about the need for relief. Background factors of an economic, sociological, or even medical nature, when viewed in their full complexity, are agents which predetermine increased numbers of dependents on relief.

Families in the South, including the Appalachian-Ozark Area, are more likely to be large as a result of high birth rates; they are more likely to cling together in a large cohesive aggregate; and finally, because of the loss of economic support or even the injury or death of the male provider, the whole aggregation is forced on relief. Conse-

quently, it is more easily understood why the proportion of families with no persons in the dependent age groups should be smallest in the South, where rural cultural traditions are strong, and greatest in New England, where the strong Yankee traditions are now all but submerged by the newer mores of an industrialized and urbanized society. These are the extreme cases, and the other areas fall in between.

Chapter VI

FAMILY STRUCTURAL TYPES

TYPE OF family has many meanings since the type depends upon the perspective of the approach. In this chapter families are viewed from the standpoint of constituency. The elements are husband, wife, children, and others. The family units are divided into three categories as follows:¹

Normal families.....	72.5 percent
Broken families.....	10.9 percent
Nonfamily types.....	16.6 percent

Normal families are divided into four categories:

Husband and wife alone.....	11.6 percent
Husband and wife with others not their children.....	2.2 percent
Parents and children alone.....	53.2 percent
Parents, children, and others.....	5.5 percent

Total normal families..... 72.5 percent

Broken families consist of one parent and children. These are also divided into four categories:

Father and children alone.....	1.9 percent
Father, children, and others.....	0.8 percent
Mother and children alone.....	6.6 percent
Mother, children, and others.....	1.6 percent

Total broken families..... 10.9 percent

The nonfamily types are similarly divided:

Male alone.....	6.6 percent
Male head and others.....	5.0 percent
Female alone.....	3.2 percent
Female head and others.....	1.8 percent

Total nonfamily types..... 16.6 percent

¹ This classification is patterned somewhat after that developed in connection with the Unemployment Relief Census, October 1933, taken by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

The present analysis gives a picture of the incidence of relief among different structural types of families by area, residence, occupation, and color.

FAMILY STRUCTURAL TYPES BY AREA AND RESIDENCE

From three-fifths to four-fifths of the families on relief in the various agricultural areas in June 1935 were normal families composed of husband and wife or of parents and children, with or without others (fig. 15). The Eastern Cotton and Lake States Cut-Over Areas

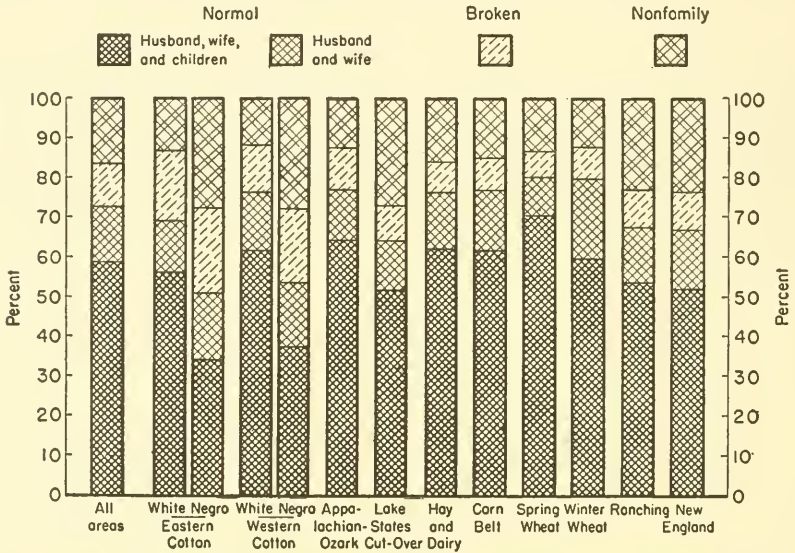


FIG. 15- STRUCTURAL TYPE OF RURAL FAMILIES RECEIVING GENERAL RELIEF, BY AREA June 1935

AF-2816, WPA

had the smallest proportions of normal families while the Wheat Areas had the highest proportions. These latter were largely drought families. The great majority of the normal families consisted of husband and wife or of husband, wife, and children alone while about one out of nine also had relatives or friends present.

Broken families were found most frequently in the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas and in the Appalachian-Ozark Area. The percentage of broken families composed of fathers and children varied only slightly among areas, but the percentage of families composed of mothers and children was much greater in the South than in other sections.²

² See also ch. III, where the analysis reveals the high proportion of female heads in the South who were widowed or separated and the small proportion who were divorced.

Nonfamily types were rarest in the Winter Wheat and Appalachian-Ozark Areas (12.4 and 12.8 percent, respectively) and most frequent in the Lake States Cut-Over Area (27.6 percent). Nonfamily types with male heads appeared most frequently in the Lake States Cut-Over Area while female heads were most numerous in the Eastern Cotton Area.

Open country families stood out in contrast to village families since 8 percent more of the open country than of the village units were normal families (table 16). Families consisting of husband, wife, and children were found more often in the open country while families of husband and wife only tended to congregate in the villages, but in neither case were the differences particularly great. There tended to be more broken families in the villages than in the open country as broken families with female heads concentrated in the villages. Nonfamily types with both male and female heads were found in the villages more often than in the open country.

The composition of the family was undoubtedly an important factor in relief, but careful analysis of the data indicates that its influence may easily be overestimated.

Table 16.—Structural Type of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Structural type	Total rural ¹	Open country ²	Village ³
Number.....	62,809	35,782	22,712
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Normal families.....	72.5	76.2	67.9
Husband and wife.....	13.8	12.7	15.2
Without others.....	11.6	10.5	13.2
With others.....	2.2	2.2	2.0
Husband, wife, and children.....	58.7	63.5	52.7
Without others.....	53.2	57.0	48.5
With others.....	5.5	6.5	4.2
Broken families.....	10.9	10.1	12.2
Father and children.....	2.7	2.6	2.5
Without others.....	1.9	1.9	2.0
With others.....	0.8	0.7	0.5
Mother and children.....	8.2	7.5	9.7
Without others.....	6.6	5.8	8.1
With others.....	1.6	1.7	1.6
Nonfamily types.....	16.6	13.7	19.9
Male head.....	11.6	9.9	13.2
Without others.....	6.6	5.3	8.1
With others.....	5.0	4.6	5.1
Female head.....	5.0	3.8	6.7
Without others.....	3.2	2.2	4.5
With others.....	1.8	1.6	2.2

¹ Exclusive of families whose type was unknown.

² Exclusive of New England.

FAMILY STRUCTURAL TYPES BY OCCUPATION

Classification of rural family types according to the usual occupation of the head reveals significant differences between agricultural and nonagricultural families. Among agricultural families 82.2 per-

cent were normal as contrasted with only 77.4 percent among non-agricultural families (fig. 16 and appendix table 20). Although there was considerable overlapping among the occupational levels within these two major groups, similarities existed in the ranking of the different occupational levels within each group. The smallest proportions of normal families were found in the highest strata but the other strata were ranked in descending order. Proceeding from the bottom to the top, for both the agricultural and nonagricultural groups, the proportions of normal families increased, if the upper groups (farm owners and white-collar workers) were excluded. Thus,

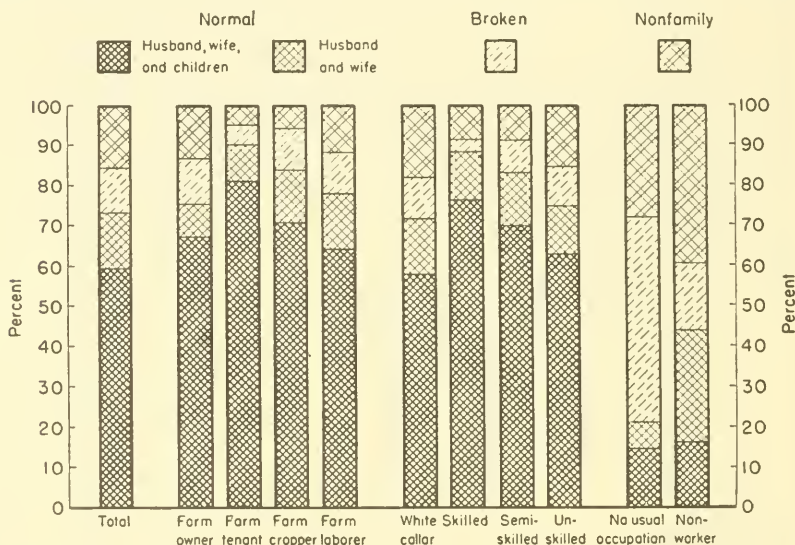


FIG. 16-STRUCTURAL TYPE OF RURAL FAMILIES RECEIVING GENERAL RELIEF, BY USUAL OCCUPATION OF HEAD

June 1935

AF-2817, WPA

within agriculture the smallest proportion of normal families was found among owners (75.0 percent) with increasing proportions for laborers (77.8 percent), croppers (83.4 percent), and tenants (89.9 percent). For the nonagricultural group the proportions were white collar, 71.5 percent; unskilled, 74.5 percent; semiskilled, 82.8 percent; and skilled, 88.0 percent. Among the families whose heads were not workers, there was a surprisingly large proportion of normal families (43.6 percent).

Broken families appeared equally as often in agriculture as in non-agriculture. While full proof is lacking, there is some indication that broken homes among agricultural families are caused more often by the death of one parent, whereas among nonagricultural families divorce or separation is a more influential factor. Similarly, divorce

or separation is probably more important for the upper than for the lower occupational levels in both agricultural and nonagricultural families. Slightly over one-half of the families whose heads had no usual occupation were broken family types, and most of these consisted of mothers and children. A little less than 17 percent of the families whose heads were not workers were broken with the great majority again composed of mothers and children.

Nonfamily types were found much more frequently in nonagriculture (13.9 percent) than in agriculture (9.1 percent). Nonfamily types with female heads appeared very rarely in agriculture but more often in nonagriculture, particularly in white-collar occupations. Almost 40 percent of the families whose heads were not workers were nonfamily types as compared with 28.2 percent for families whose heads had no usual occupation. The largest proportion of the heads who were not workers consisted of men living alone while the largest proportion of the heads with no usual occupation consisted of unattached women.

FAMILY STRUCTURAL TYPES BY COLOR

The relatively small proportion of normal families in the rural relief population in the Cotton Areas may be largely attributed to conditions among Negroes. Only slightly over one-half of the Negro families in both areas were normal as contrasted with two-thirds to three-fourths of the whites (appendix table 21). Four percent more of the Negro families in the Eastern Cotton Area and six percent more in the Western Cotton Area were broken than was the case among the whites. These differences were most marked in the open country. In general there were more broken homes in the villages for both races. Significantly, for both races, most of the broken families consisted of mothers and children.

The greatest difference between white and Negro households, however, appeared in those groups called *nonfamily* types. In both areas Negro groups of the nonfamily type appeared on relief at least twice as often as white groups of this type. The differences were especially marked in the Western Cotton Area, both in the villages and in the open country. One-third of the Negro families in the western villages consisted of nonfamily types. These Negro nonfamily groups in the Western Cotton Area were about evenly divided between those with male and those with female heads.

Although for the white relief population in the South the proportion of normal families was greater among the farm laborers and the unskilled nonagricultural laborers than among farm owners and white-collar workers, respectively, such was not the case among Negroes. The unskilled occupational groups among Negro families had the smallest proportions of normal families, the farm laborers having only 49.0 percent and the nonagricultural laborers only 51.0 percent (appendix table 22).

An important exception to the rule that Negro families were more likely to be broken than white families was the farm owner group with 20.9 percent of the white families in the two Cotton Areas broken as contrasted with 10.4 percent of the Negro families. However, one-half of these broken Negro families were composed of fathers and children, while only one-eighth of the broken white families consisted of fathers and children. In contrast, the proportions of broken homes among croppers and farm laborers were much greater among Negroes than whites.

Of the Negro and white families whose heads were not workers, 56.7 percent and 31.1 percent, respectively, were nonfamily types. A fairly high proportion of broken Negro families had female heads who were not workers.

ONE-PERSON HOUSEHOLDS

One-person households present special problems to relief administrators. Such households may originate as a result of the breaking up of a family, leaving aged persons living alone; or they may be the result of special social and economic conditions which prevent marriage and which keep individuals living as isolated units. One-person households most often consist of men, and cases of men living alone are found most frequently in isolated mining or heavy industrial areas. Although the ratio of males to females is very high in some agricultural areas, one-person households are not found as frequently in such areas because of combinations into family groups.

One-person families constituted less than 10 percent of all rural families on relief in June 1935 except in the Eastern Cotton, Hay and Dairy, New England, Ranching, and Lake States Cut-Over Areas (appendix table 20). The latter areas include a high proportion of one-person families because of economic conditions. In addition to the self-sufficing agriculture in the Lake States Cut-Over Area there has been employment for large numbers of men both in the forests and in the iron mines of Minnesota. The Hay and Dairy and New England Areas include many centers of industry, and the Ranching Area uses many unattached men in its type of agricultural production. As a result, the highest proportions of one-person families that were males were found in the Lake States Cut-Over, Ranching, and New England Areas.

Three times as many one-person families were found among Negroes as whites in the two Cotton Areas, and the difference was especially striking in the Western Cotton Area (appendix table 23). The majority of the white one-person families in these two areas consisted of males, whereas the majority of the Negro one-person families consisted of females. These differences were accentuated in the open country. An additional difference between Negroes and whites was the greater proportion of Negroes who were 65 years of age and over.



Farm Security Administration (Rothstein).

Homeless.



Farm Security Administration (Rothstein).

Penniless and Alone.

Chapter VII

FERTILITY OF RURAL RELIEF FAMILIES

THE RELATIONSHIP which exists between fertility and the relief problem is important. Other conditions being equal, there is greater *a priori* probability for families with a high birth rate to be on relief than there is for families with a low birth rate. With few exceptions this relationship holds true throughout the country. In addition to the fact that relief authorities may select for their grants those families with the greatest number of dependents, the expectation of a higher than average birth rate for relief families coincides with their general position in the social structure; that is, with fairly constant uniformity the birth rate increases with progressive steps down the social ladder.¹ Since relief families for the most part come from the lower strata, they will tend to have a higher birth rate than the general population. Furthermore, since population traits are well grounded in the mores, relief families with more children will continue, at least for some time, to have children while still on relief. Such relationships, however, are shadowy and difficult to measure accurately because of the fact that during the depression of the early thirties all levels of society were affected to such a great extent. However, the higher birth rate of relief families as contrasted with nonrelief families has been noted by experts.²

FERTILITY OF GENERAL RURAL POPULATION

According to available data 444 children under 5 years of age per 1,000 white women 20-44 years of age are now necessary in order to maintain a stationary population. Because of the higher death rates the

¹ See Gini, Corrado, "Real and Apparent Exceptions to the Uniformity of a Lower Natural Increase of the Upper Classes," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. I, 1936, pp. 257-280. See also Notestein, Frank W., "Class Differences in Fertility," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 188, November 1936, pp. 26-36; and McKain, W. C., Jr. and Whetten, N. L., "Size of Family in Relation to Homogeneity of Parental Traits," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. I, 1936, pp. 20-27.

² See, for example, Stouffer, Samuel A., "Fertility of Families on Relief," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. XXIX, 1934, pp. 295-300.

number rises to 499 among Negroes in the country as a whole.³ As shown by the 1930 Census, the fertility rates⁴ of the general rural population were highest in the Appalachian-Ozark (838), Spring Wheat (804), Eastern Cotton (752), and Lake States Cut-Over (737) Areas. The rates were lowest in the Corn Belt (565), Hay and Dairy (605), Winter Wheat (613), and Ranching (644) Areas (table 17). It is clear that the rural population has a birth rate considerably higher than necessary for replacement needs. It is a general phenomenon in civilizations, such as ours, that the rural districts produce a surplus of population which moves constantly to the cities to make up for the deficit caused by low birth rates in urban areas.

Table 17.—Children Under 5 Years of Age per 1,000 Women 20 Through 44 Years of Age in the General Rural Population, by Area and Residence, 1930

[138 counties]

Area	Total rural			Rural-farm			Rural-nonfarm		
	Number of children under 5 years of age	Number of women 20-44 years of age	Number of children under 5 per 1,000 women 20-44 years of age	Number of children under 5 years of age	Number of women 20-44 years of age	Number of children under 5 per 1,000 women 20-44 years of age	Number of children under 5 years of age	Number of women 20-44 years of age	Number of children under 5 per 1,000 women 20-44 years of age
All areas ¹	270, 110	337, 481	697. 1	178, 474	236, 694	754. 0	91, 636	150, 787	607. 7
Eastern Cotton.....	79, 003	105, 110	751. 6	61, 845	75, 904	814. 8	17, 158	29, 206	587. 5
White.....	49, 141	62, 318	788. 6	36, 253	41, 911	865. 0	12, 888	20, 407	631. 5
Negro.....	29, 862	42, 792	697. 8	25, 592	33, 993	752. 9	4, 270	8, 799	485. 3
Western Cotton.....	33, 980	48, 830	695. 9	26, 286	34, 772	756. 0	7, 694	14, 058	547. 3
White.....	24, 487	36, 218	676. 1	18, 241	24, 826	734. 8	6, 246	11, 392	548. 3
Negro.....	9, 493	12, 612	752. 7	8, 045	9, 946	808. 9	1, 448	2, 666	543. 1
Appalachian-Ozark.....	53, 172	63, 458	837. 9	28, 654	33, 689	850. 5	24, 518	29, 769	823. 6
White.....	5, 638	7, 648	737. 2	2, 737	3, 583	763. 9	2, 901	4, 065	713. 7
Negro.....	43, 396	71, 714	805. 1	22, 478	33, 176	677. 5	20, 918	38, 538	542. 8
Lake States Cut-Over.....	35, 221	62, 339	565. 0	23, 805	39, 045	609. 7	11, 416	23, 294	490. 1
White.....	4, 391	6, 218	605. 1	2, 478	3, 176	677. 5	2, 018	3, 538	542. 8
Negro.....	30, 830	56, 121	565. 0	21, 327	35, 869	609. 7	9, 398	19, 756	490. 1
Spring Wheat.....	8, 501	10, 570	804. 3	6, 255	6, 941	901. 2	2, 246	3, 629	618. 9
White.....	5, 223	8, 526	612. 6	3, 479	5, 288	657. 9	1, 744	3, 238	538. 6
Negro.....	3, 278	2, 044	643. 5	2, 776	1, 653	683. 2	3, 041	4, 990	609. 4

¹ Exclusive of New England.

Source: Special tabulation by U. S. Bureau of the Census for identical counties used in the Survey of Current Changes in the Rural Relief Population.

³ Data for fertility of white women from National Resources Committee, *Population Statistics, 1. National Data*, Washington, D. C., October 1937, table 14; data for fertility of Negro women computed by Harold Dorn, based on life tables prepared by the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

⁴ The fertility index used here is the ratio of children under 5 per 1,000 women 20-44 years of age. This index is most valuable for a study of this kind since it minimizes differentials in infant mortality among areas. Thus, it more closely approximates a measure of effective fertility than a crude or specific birth rate taken from registration figures. One weakness of this index is the possible underenumeration of younger children. For example, tests made by the U. S. Bureau of the Census show a short count of considerable size. The size of this omission may be much larger in rural and isolated districts than in cities. There is also the possibility of underenumeration on the schedules used in the sample study, but assurances from field workers indicate that the relief enumeration was more complete than the census enumeration.

The fertility rate for all rural areas sampled was 697 for the 1930 Census population. Since the rate among the rural-nonfarm (608) population was lower than that among the rural-farm (754) population, a closer approximation to the birth rate necessary for a stationary population was found in the nonfarm group. This was particularly true in the Corn Belt, Winter Wheat, Hay and Dairy, and Western Cotton Areas where the rates for the rural-nonfarm population were very low.

Differentials in the rates for the total rural-farm and rural-nonfarm populations were greatest in the Spring Wheat (282), Eastern Cotton (227), and Western Cotton (209) Areas. They were least in the Appalachian-Ozark (27) and Lake States Cut-Over (50) Areas. The largest number of children under 5 years of age per 1,000 women 20-44 years of age in any of the areas studied was found in the rural-farm population of the Spring Wheat Area, where the fertility rate was 901 per 1,000. This high rate may be largely attributed to the families of immigrant stock which have rather recently migrated into the area. The comparatively high rate in the rural-farm population of the Appalachian-Ozark Area (851) may be attributed largely to the isolated and, to a certain extent, self-sufficient economy. The next highest rural-farm rates were found in the two Cotton Areas and the Lake States Cut-Over Area. In these districts a familistic culture is dominant. In contrast, the lowest fertility rates for rural-farm families were found in the Corn Belt, Winter Wheat, Hay and Dairy, and Ranching Areas. In these areas a highly commercialized, mechanized, and extensive agriculture, including some urban influences, is the rule.

FERTILITY OF RURAL RELIEF FAMILIES

The ratio of children to women among rural relief families, as revealed by the enumeration of October 1935,⁵ is not the same as that of the general rural population, and the differences between the two enumerations show wide contrasts in the various type-of-farming areas. In the relief population fertility was highest in the Appalachian-Ozark (1,277), Spring Wheat (1,092), and Ranching (1,000) Areas (table 18). The rates were lowest in New England (664), in the Eastern Cotton Area (748), and in the Corn Belt (867). In comparison with the rates for the total rural population the Ranching Area had moved up from a very low rank to near the top and the two Cotton Areas had both dropped down the scale. It is interesting to note that according to fertility rates in the villages the three southern areas ranked at the bottom. Only in the Ranching Area was the rate higher in villages than in the open country.

⁵ Data on fertility were available from the October rather than the June 1935 tabulations.

Table 18.—Children Under 5 Years of Age per 1,000 Women 20 Through 44 Years of Age in Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Area and Residence, October 1935

[138 counties and 83 New England townships¹]

Area	Total rural			Open country ²			Village ³		
	Number of children under 5 years of age	Number of women 20-44 years of age	Number of children under 5 per 1,000 women 20-44 years of age	Number of children under 5 years of age	Number of women 20-44 years of age	Number of children under 5 per 1,000 women 20-44 years of age	Number of children under 5 years of age	Number of women 20-44 years of age	Number of children under 5 per 1,000 women 20-44 years of age
All areas.....	31,434	30,332	1,036.3	22,262	18,164	1,225.6	8,040	10,464	768.3
Eastern Cotton.....	2,434	3,254	748.0	1,932	2,330	829.2	502	924	543.3
White.....	1,830	2,454	745.7	1,474	1,788	824.4	356	666	534.5
Negro.....	604	800	755.0	458	542	845.0	146	258	565.9
Western Cotton.....	3,256	3,512	927.1	2,556	2,504	1,020.8	700	1,008	694.4
White.....	2,684	2,894	927.4	2,110	2,054	1,027.3	574	840	683.3
Negro.....	572	618	925.6	446	450	991.1	126	168	750.0
Appalachian-Ozark.....	15,382	12,044	1,277.2	12,340	7,912	1,559.7	3,042	4,132	736.2
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,516	1,568	966.8	1,108	1,070	1,035.5	408	498	819.3
Hay and Dairy.....	3,314	3,628	913.5	1,970	2,066	953.5	1,344	1,562	860.4
Corn Belt.....	1,624	1,874	866.6	686	706	971.7	938	1,168	803.1
Spring Wheat.....	1,694	1,552	1,091.5	1,180	1,046	1,128.1	514	506	1,015.8
Winter Wheat.....	444	558	795.7	270	342	789.5	174	216	805.6
Ranching.....	638	638	1,000.0	220	188	1,170.2	418	450	928.9
New England.....	1,132	1,704	664.3	—	—	—	—	—	—

¹ Townships in Connecticut and Massachusetts only.

² Exclusive of New England.

NOTE.—The fertility rate of the rural relief population for all areas is importantly weighted by the Appalachian-Ozark sample. In the areas not sampled fertility rates were lower than in those represented by the 10 sample areas. See Mengus, A. R., *Changing Aspects of Rural Relief*, Research Monograph XIV, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1938, table 24.

The comparison of relief families with the general rural population in the same areas according to number of children under 5 years of age per 1,000 women 20 through 44 years of age was affected by various factors.⁶ One difficulty in the comparison was the fact that there is a difference of 5 years between the census figures and the relief figures, and the depression of the early thirties had far-reaching effects on marriage and birth rates. For instance, Stouffer and Spencer⁷ estimated a depression deficit of 748,000 marriages and possibly over a million births. Following a drop in 1930, 1931, and 1932, marriage and birth rates have risen somewhat again. The fertility rates used here would be affected by factors in the periods 1926-1930 and 1931-1935 so that to measure the depression drop in the birth rate actual births were compared for these two periods.

⁶ Some of the rates in the Southern States may have been affected by the marked population changes in the period between 1930 and 1935. See Smith, T. Lynn, "Recent Changes in the Farm Population of the Southern States," *Social Forces*, Vol. 15, 1937, pp. 391-401. In this article the relocation of the southern population is brought out and the increase in population in areas adjacent to cities and in the poor-land areas is shown.

⁷ Stouffer, Samuel A. and Spencer, Lyle M., "Marriage and Divorce in Recent Years," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 188, November 1936, pp. 56-69.

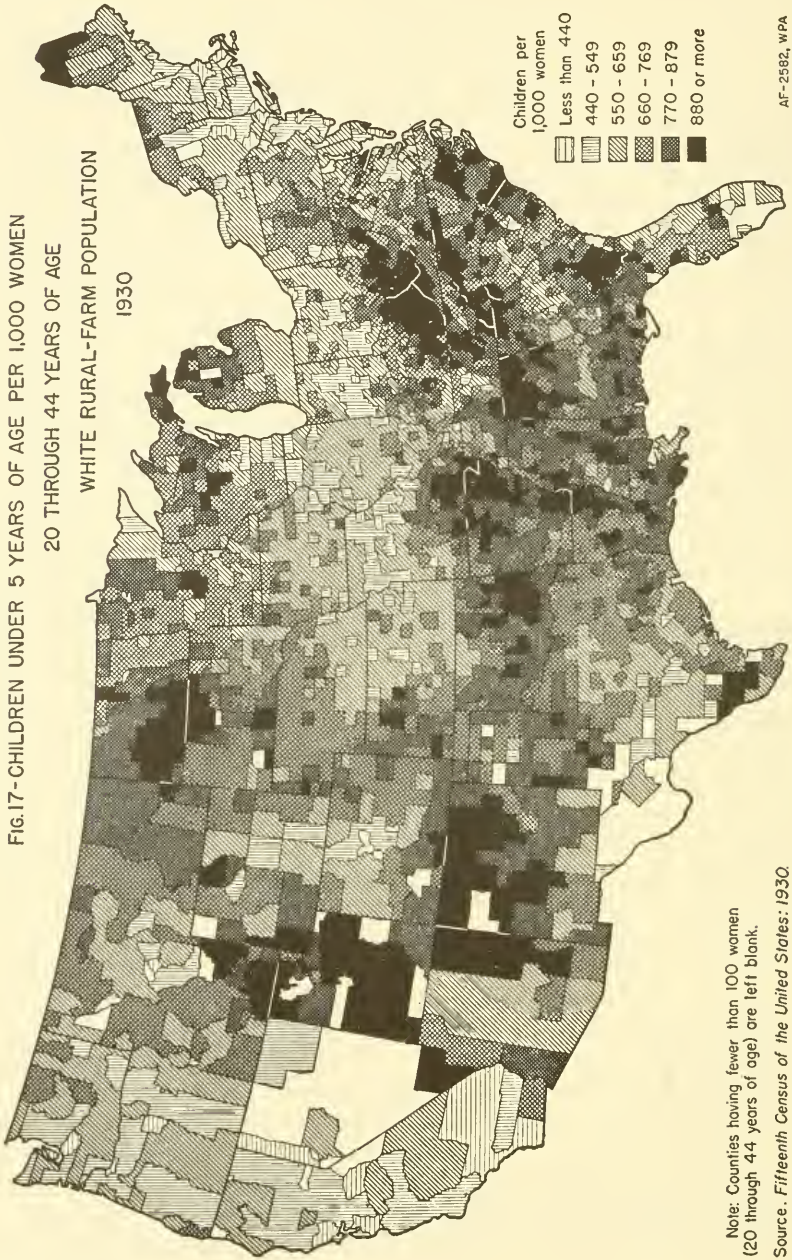
It was found that the chief loss in number of births during 1931-1935 was in regions other than the South.

The expectation that relief families would have a higher birth rate than the census population has been suggested earlier in this report. This was due to the natural expectation that relief would be distributed where need was greatest in terms of mouths to feed. This situation was realized in most areas, but actually in the Eastern Cotton Area the relief fertility rate was 748 as contrasted with 752 for the rural population as a whole. In the other agricultural areas the ratio of children to women for relief families was higher than that for the census population. The difference between relief families and census families was greatest in the Appalachian-Ozark and Ranching Areas.

Differences from area to area in the ratio of children to women in the rural relief population are related to cultural backgrounds. One of the oldest and most firmly rooted rural cultures is found in the South. There tradition and custom play an exceedingly important role, and the habit of mutual assistance is well established.

In the depression of the early thirties these traditions and customs were unifying forces which assisted the families and groups in caring for themselves without outside governmental aid. Many tenants and croppers on the southern plantations were cared for by landlords who advanced them food and clothing throughout much of the crisis period. This was especially true in the older sections of the Eastern Cotton Area and to a lesser extent in the Western Cotton Area. Although the same type of landlord and tenant relationship did not exist in the Appalachian-Ozark or the Lake States Cut-Over Areas, informal mutual aid may also have been a vital factor. In each of these latter areas the tendency was toward a small-scale, noncommercial, and self-sufficient agriculture. The single crop system in the Cotton Areas was concentrated on a cash crop, but the small-scale operations, together with other social and cultural background features, created an affinity with the small farmer in the other two areas.

In contrast to this situation was that found in the more highly commercialized areas where extensive agriculture is the rule. Scattered widely over the landscape, of diverse cultural backgrounds, psychologically absorbed in a money-market economy, these farmers have not built up the body of traditions and customs that determine an integrated culture. True there are scattered communities which are highly homogeneous, and there are nationalities which are extremely clannish. But in general the families in those sections of the United States exist as individualized units, each of which acts independently. Their unity lies in the common concentration on a cash crop and on the commercial exchange markets rather than in a

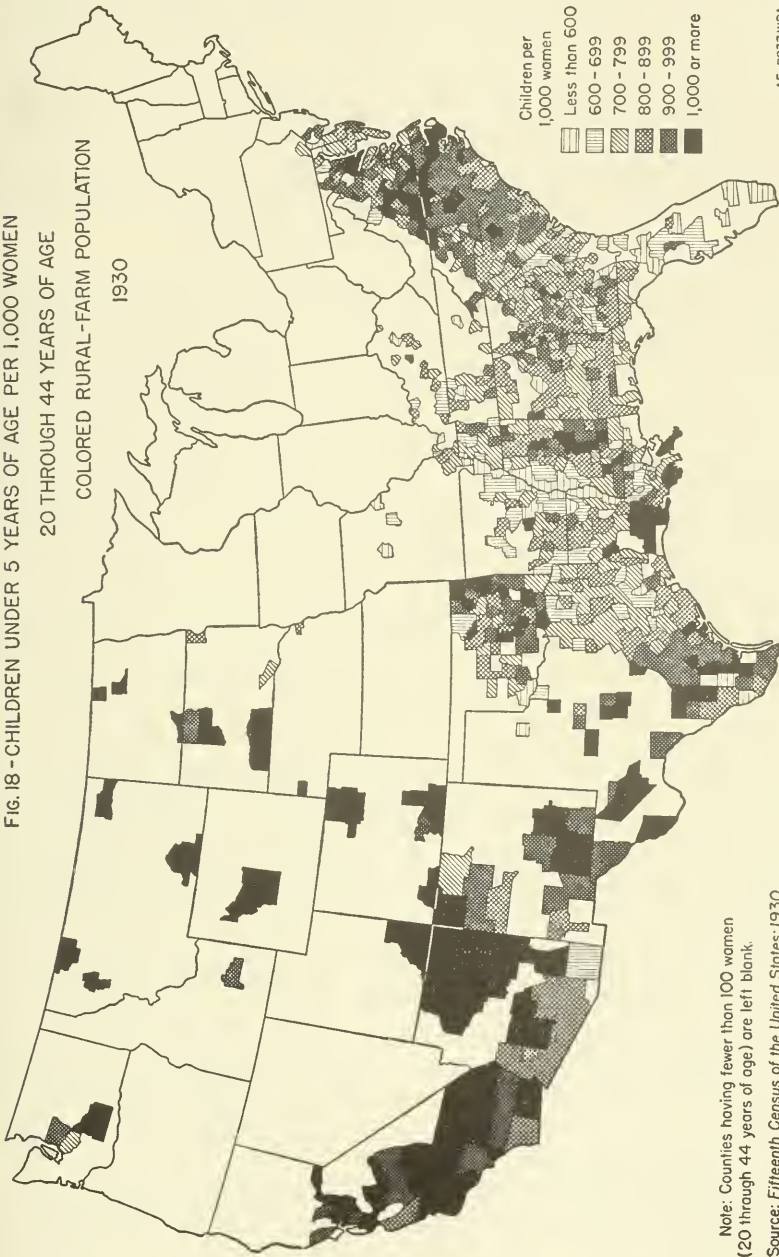


Note: Counties having fewer than 100 women (20 through 44 years of age) are left blank.

Source. *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930.*

FIG. 18 - CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE PER 1,000 WOMEN
20 THROUGH 44 YEARS OF AGE

COLORED RURAL-FARM POPULATION
1930



Note: Counties having fewer than 100 women
(20 through 44 years of age) are left blank.

Source: Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930.

AF-2837, WPA

common background of cultural ideals and values. In such a situation the relationship between family size and dependency may be close. That is, given widespread economic distress because of a break in the market or to the loss of a crop, the families which have the highest birth rate and the largest number of dependents will be the first to use up their small reserves. In a familistic society, however, family size as such is not the most important variable in the recourse to public relief. Crises in these areas are met first by adjustments within the social structure, and relatives, friends, landlords, or supervisors may extend the economic help that is needed.

The very fact that landlords provide assistance for certain of their tenants is also of significance. The splitting of tenant and cropper families⁸ tended to place on relief aged or unemployable members and to keep the younger and more able members under the care of the landlord. Thus, the normal families composed of young parents in their prime would probably not be listed as relief cases as frequently as other types of families. However, this practice has been more prevalent in the Western than in the Eastern Cotton Area, and it is in the Eastern Cotton Area that the fertility rate of relief families has actually dropped below that for the total rural population.

In order to check further the explanations given for the ratio of children to women in the relief population, data for the two Cotton Areas were analyzed by color. According to the 1930 Census enumeration white families had a higher fertility rate than Negro families in the Eastern Cotton Area, but the Negroes exceeded the whites in the Western Cotton Area (table 17 and figs. 17 and 18). The rate for white and Negro families combined was considerably higher in the Eastern than in the Western Cotton Area. This difference was due principally to the white fertility rate since the Negro rate did not differ so widely in the two areas; the Negro rate was 55 per 1,000 higher in the Western than in the Eastern Cotton Area, but the white rate was 113 per 1,000 lower in the Western than in the Eastern Cotton Area. In the relief population there was practically no difference between the white and Negro fertility rates in either Cotton Area. However, rates were about 175 per 1,000 higher in the Western than in the Eastern Cotton Area for each race. The contrast between village and open country rates showed differences between the races. The Negro rate in the villages was from 240 to 280 per 1,000 lower than it was in the open country and the white rates showed even greater differences.

A further illustration of the importance of the general social system was afforded by the contrast between relief and census families in

⁸ See Mangus, A. R., *The Rural Negro on Relief, February 1935*, Research Bulletin H-3, Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C., October 17, 1935, p. ii.

Table 19.—Children Under 5 Years of Age per 1,000 Women 20 Through 44 Years of Age in the General Rural Population, 1930,¹ and in the Rural Relief Population, October 1935, of 2 New England States

[83 townships]

State	General rural population			Rural relief population		
	Number of children under 5 years of age	Number of women 20-44 years of age	Number of children under 5 per 1,000 women 20-44 years of age	Number of children under 5 years of age	Number of women 20-44 years of age	Number of children under 5 per 1,000 women 20-44 years of age
Total.....	71, 538	154, 942	461. 7	1, 132	1, 704	664. 3
Massachusetts.....	33, 237	70, 264	473. 0	800	1, 228	651. 5
Connecticut.....	38, 301	84, 678	452. 3	332	476	697. 5

¹ Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, Population Vol. III, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., 1933.

two New England States (table 19). Here the ratios of children to women were considerably lower than they were in the South (tables 17 and 18) and came much nearer approximating merely reproductive needs. In Connecticut the rate for the general rural population was 452 per 1,000, and in Massachusetts, 473 per 1,000. Fertility rates were strikingly higher for relief than for census families. In Connecticut the difference was almost 250 per 1,000, and in Massachusetts it was about 180 per 1,000.

STRONG AND WEAK FAMILY SYSTEMS

As a consequence of these differences in the fertility rates of census and relief families, two major types of families, designated as weak and strong families,⁹ stand out clearly. In a familistic social system the families have a larger number of children on the average than those in the weaker counterpart. This does not mean that sterility or small families will be absent in a familistic complex, or that there will not be large families in an individualistic system. Rather it means that the combination of all of the factors which tend to concentrate the attention of the individual on his own wants and desires and to lift from him the burden of support for others results in a steadily decreasing birth rate; and out of this variable mass in which each item differs from the others in almost imperceptible degree, two contradictory typological cases can be segregated analytically. These cases are designated as strong and weak family types.

In the contemporary United States these family types are associated concretely in varying degrees with the different sections of the country; and the analysis can be made in terms of either social or geo-

⁹ See Zimmerman, Carle C. and Frampton, M. E., *Family and Society*, New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1935, ch. XVIII.

graphical space. This means that there is a pronounced tendency for the weak family system to be correlated with the extensity and intensity of the diffusion of urbanism. The opposite relation of strong family systems and rural mores is also true. Geographically, the Old South, including the two Cotton Areas and the Appalachian-Ozark Area, approaches most closely a familistic social system. A familistic system was also once present in other sections of the United States, particularly in New England, but there only its traces are left amidst the dense urban and industrial population. A compensating factor in New England has been the strong family mores of recent immigrants, but the process of assimilation tends to wipe out these traditions in a generation or two.¹⁰ In the early period of settlement by New England and southern families the Midwest also corresponded to this type of familism, but the disruption of systems of social relationships through migration, together with rapid urbanization and sudden prosperity, has meant an equally sudden transformation of the family system in that region. Thus, the tendency today in all regions but the South is toward the weak family system, and, if the movement continues, all that is required for its realization is the necessary time for the process to work itself out. Evidence indicates that the South is headed in the same direction, but it has farther to go. In this manner the two family types can be related to the birth rates in specific areas.

Thus, within the strong or the weak family systems the influence of the birth rate, as one of the factors causing relief, may have opposite effects. The weaker the family structure, and correspondingly the weaker the cultural background, the closer becomes the correlation between birth rates and relief. But within a strong family system the factors leading to relief do not appear to be directly related to the birth rate, and the problems of families in these areas cannot be explained merely in terms of a large number of dependent children.

¹⁰ In this connection it is interesting to note that in a recent study of relief in rural Connecticut it was found that foreign-born families were not overrepresented on relief and were probably slightly underrepresented as compared with the native-born. See Whetten, N. L., Darling, H. D., McKain, W. C., Jr., and Field, R. F., *Rural Families on Relief in Connecticut*, Bulletin 215, Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station, Storrs, Conn., 1937, pp. 24-25. That the mores of the immigrant groups are rapidly breaking down in certain areas, however, is illustrated by the fact that in a recent study of Montville, Conn., where there are a large number of Polish immigrants, it was found that the foreign-born Polish families had the highest relief rate in town. See Whetten, N. L. and McKain, W. C., Jr., *A Sociological Analysis of Relief and Non-Relief Families in a Rural Connecticut Town*, Bulletin 219, Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station, Storrs, Conn., 1937.

Chapter VIII

EMPLOYABILITY, EMPLOYMENT, AND AMOUNT OF RELIEF

THE DIRECT cause and effect relationship between cyclical unemployment and relief is so obvious that during depression periods it tends to be overemphasized to the detriment of more continuous, long-time factors. Even in the most prosperous times many families are on relief because of the lack of wage earners or because of their illness or injury. These families may be styled *economically disorganized* since their economic organization is completely broken or badly crippled. Families of this type include those with no worker 16-64 years of age and those with female workers only. In addition to these extreme types there are the families which have varying numbers of male workers or both male and female workers.

The employability composition thus sets the outside limits for family employment, and within these limits there may be wide variations. Therefore, under the general heading of employment and relief the analysis consists of a study of (1) employability composition, (2) occupational displacement and shifting, (3) unemployment prior to relief, (4) reason for accession to relief, (5) relief history, and (6) amount of relief.

EMPLOYABILITY COMPOSITION

The serious plight of many relief families is shown by the fact that 12.9 percent of all rural relief families in June 1935 had no worker (table 20 and fig. 19), and an additional 7.8 percent of the families had female workers only. Considerable differences appeared among areas in regard to employability composition. About one family out of six in most areas had no employable member and hence no means of wage income. The Cotton Areas had the highest proportions of families with female workers only, and in those two areas the total of the two categories, female workers only and no worker, accounted for one-fourth to one-third of all rural relief families. All of these families may be called unemployable or potentially unem-

Table 20.—Employability Composition of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence and Area, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total ¹		No work-er	Female workers only			Male workers only			Male and female workers		
	Number	Per-cent		Total	1	2 or more	Total	1	2 or more	Total	2	3 or more
TOTAL RURAL												
All areas.....	62,509	100.0	12.9	7.8	6.6	1.2	64.3	53.5	10.8	15.0	8.2	6.8
Eastern Cotton.....	7,732	100.0	13.9	19.3	15.6	3.7	41.1	35.4	5.7	25.7	16.1	9.6
White.....	5,684	100.0	9.6	17.0	14.0	3.0	47.7	40.5	7.2	25.7	16.1	9.6
Negro.....	2,648	100.0	22.4	23.6	18.5	5.1	28.4	25.5	2.9	25.6	16.2	9.4
Western Cotton.....	7,268	100.0	16.6	10.2	8.9	1.3	61.6	50.7	10.9	11.6	6.1	5.5
White.....	5,432	100.0	13.0	7.9	6.9	1.0	68.5	56.3	12.2	10.6	5.6	5.0
Negro.....	1,836	100.0	27.5	17.2	15.0	2.2	41.0	33.9	7.1	14.3	7.3	7.0
Appalachian-Ozark.....	17,016	100.0	9.1	6.6	5.4	1.2	65.8	53.5	12.3	18.5	10.2	8.3
Lake States Cut-Over.....	3,792	100.0	16.5	2.7	2.4	0.3	73.0	60.9	12.1	7.8	3.3	4.5
Hay and Dairy.....	8,626	100.0	15.9	3.9	3.6	0.3	71.5	59.8	11.7	8.7	4.8	3.9
Corn Belt.....	7,512	100.0	11.5	5.6	5.2	0.4	72.6	61.0	11.6	10.3	6.2	4.1
Spring Wheat.....	3,374	100.0	6.5	3.5	3.0	0.5	73.0	62.0	11.0	17.0	5.2	11.8
Winter Wheat.....	1,288	100.0	8.9	4.3	3.8	0.5	79.3	70.0	9.3	7.5	4.7	2.8
Ranching.....	1,886	100.0	17.1	8.1	6.8	1.3	66.5	56.8	6.7	8.3	3.8	4.5
New England.....	4,315	100.0	16.7	7.4	6.3	1.1	58.0	46.5	11.5	17.9	9.9	8.0
OPEN COUNTRY												
All areas ²	35,782	100.0	11.0	6.7	5.5	1.2	67.7	54.5	12.2	15.6	8.1	7.5
Eastern Cotton.....	5,002	100.0	15.7	18.5	14.4	4.1	40.7	35.0	5.7	25.1	15.4	9.7
White.....	3,366	100.0	10.8	15.5	12.6	2.9	48.9	41.8	7.1	24.8	15.2	9.6
Negro.....	1,636	100.0	25.8	24.7	18.0	6.7	23.8	20.9	2.9	25.7	15.8	9.9
Western Cotton.....	4,686	100.0	15.4	7.8	6.6	1.2	65.1	53.2	11.9	11.7	5.6	6.1
White.....	3,510	100.0	11.7	5.7	4.9	0.8	72.1	59.2	12.9	10.5	5.2	5.3
Negro.....	1,176	100.0	26.5	13.9	11.7	2.2	44.5	35.8	8.7	15.1	6.8	8.3
Appalachian-Ozark.....	12,066	100.0	7.4	6.2	5.0	1.2	66.1	52.7	13.4	20.3	10.9	9.4
Lake States Cut-Over.....	2,492	100.0	14.8	2.3	2.1	0.2	75.1	61.4	13.7	7.8	3.4	4.4
Hay and Dairy.....	5,028	100.0	13.8	3.1	2.9	0.2	75.6	61.7	13.9	7.5	4.0	3.5
Corn Belt.....	2,802	100.0	9.1	2.0	2.0	—	79.4	64.0	15.4	9.5	4.6	4.9
Spring Wheat.....	2,386	100.0	3.9	1.4	1.1	0.3	77.2	64.7	12.5	17.5	4.1	13.4
Winter Wheat.....	670	100.0	4.2	2.4	1.8	0.6	85.9	76.6	9.3	7.5	3.3	4.2
Ranching.....	650	100.0	16.5	6.2	6.2	—	71.7	63.7	8.0	5.6	2.8	2.8
VILLAGE												
All areas ²	22,712	100.0	15.0	9.4	8.3	1.1	62.2	53.6	8.6	13.4	8.2	5.2
Eastern Cotton.....	2,730	100.0	10.7	20.7	17.8	2.9	41.9	36.1	5.8	26.7	17.4	9.3
White.....	1,718	100.0	7.1	20.0	16.9	3.1	45.5	38.0	7.5	27.4	17.7	9.7
Negro.....	1,012	100.0	16.8	21.9	19.3	2.6	35.8	32.8	3.0	25.5	16.8	8.7
Western Cotton.....	2,582	100.0	18.8	14.7	13.2	1.5	55.2	46.1	9.1	11.3	6.9	4.4
White.....	1,922	100.0	15.3	11.9	10.7	1.2	62.0	51.2	10.8	10.8	6.4	4.4
Negro.....	660	100.0	29.1	23.0	20.9	2.1	35.2	31.0	4.2	12.7	8.2	4.5
Appalachian-Ozark.....	4,950	100.0	13.4	7.6	6.6	1.0	64.8	55.1	9.7	14.2	8.6	5.6
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,300	100.0	19.7	3.7	3.2	0.5	68.6	59.7	8.9	8.0	3.2	4.8
Hay and Dairy.....	3,598	100.0	18.8	4.9	4.3	0.6	65.8	57.2	8.6	10.5	6.1	4.4
Corn Belt.....	4,710	100.0	12.9	7.6	7.0	0.6	68.6	59.2	9.4	10.9	7.2	3.7
Spring Wheat.....	988	100.0	13.0	8.5	7.7	0.8	62.9	55.4	7.5	15.6	7.7	7.9
Winter Wheat.....	618	100.0	13.9	6.5	6.2	0.3	72.2	62.8	9.4	7.4	6.1	1.3
Ranching.....	1,236	100.0	17.3	9.1	7.2	1.9	63.9	57.9	6.0	9.7	4.4	5.3

¹ Exclusive of families whose employability composition was unknown.² Exclusive of New England.

ployable¹ since they had no male worker and only in very few cases had more than one female worker. The high proportion of these two types of families in the Cotton Areas was the net result of the

¹ See Hulett, J. E., Jr., *Some Types of Unemployability in Rural Relief Cases, February 1935*, Research Bulletin H-2, Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C., October 4, 1935, table II, p. 17.



Farm Security Administration (Shahn).

No Breadwinner in This Home.

social environment, the depression, and agricultural restriction measures.

The proportion of all rural relief families having only male workers was 4.5 percent higher in the open country than it was in the villages, while the proportion of unemployable and potentially unemployable families was 6.7 percent higher in the villages. Again it is seen that open country families comprised a more homogeneous group, most of whom were normal families with an employable male head, a wife, and children. The economically disorganized families tended to concentrate in the villages.

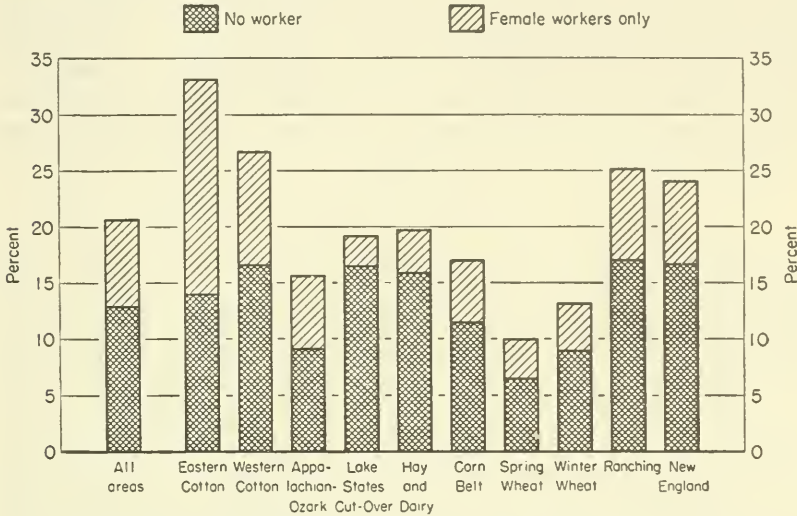


FIG. 19 - RURAL FAMILIES RECEIVING GENERAL RELIEF WITH NO WORKER OR WITH FEMALE WORKERS ONLY, BY AREA

June 1935

AF-2810, WPA

The areas did not fall into any clear-cut groups on the basis of families without workers. The highest proportion of families with no worker was found in the Ranching Area, followed by New England, the Western Cotton Area, the Lake States Cut-Over Area, and the Hay and Dairy Area. The smallest proportions were found in the two Wheat Areas and in the Appalachian-Ozark Area.

The explanation for the large number of potentially unemployable families in the Southern Areas was found to be largely attributable to Negro rather than white families (table 20). From two to three times as many Negro as white families had no workers. As high as 29.1 percent of the Negro families in the villages of the Western Cotton Area and 16.8 percent of those in the villages of the Eastern Cotton Area had no workers. White families with no worker varied from 7.1 per-

cent in the eastern villages to 15.3 percent in the western villages. Similarly, more of the Negro than white families had female workers only although the differences did not appear to be as great. However, the summation of these two categories shows that almost one-half of the Negro families on relief in June 1935 had no employable male (46.0 percent in the Eastern Cotton Area and 44.7 percent in the Western Cotton Area). Fewer of the white families were in this situation with the proportions 26.6 percent in the Eastern and 20.9 percent in the Western Cotton Area. It seems that through a number of circumstances rural Negro families had become much more disorganized economically than white families. It is also probable that administrative factors affect the figures. Principally, however, the data reveal that relatively more of the families in the South, especially the Negroes, were on relief because of unemployability and that more of the families in other areas were on relief because of special circumstances associated with the depression.

OCCUPATIONAL DISPLACEMENT AND SHIFTING

Considered according to employment status and occupation, only 29.2 percent of the workers in agriculture were totally unemployed in comparison with 72.1 percent of the workers in nonagriculture (table 21 and figs. 20 and 21). The high proportion in agriculture, however, was partly due to the fact that farm operators were arbitrarily defined as employed if they were still on their farms, even if they had no cash income. Within the agricultural group the proportion unemployed² was smallest among farm owners (6.5 percent) and increased steadily at each of the lower occupational levels. Among the nonagricultural occupations the greatest unemployment was in the skilled and semi-skilled occupations while for both the unskilled and the white-collar occupations unemployment was slightly less severe.

Only 1 percent of the former workers in agriculture had shifted into current nonagricultural employment, but almost 11 percent of the former nonagricultural workers were currently employed in agriculture at the time of the survey. In part this reflects a widespread movement back to the farm during the depression, and in part it also reflects the reversed direction of occupational mobility during the depression, which caused a general shifting down the occupational scale for workers at all levels.³ These occupational shifts are shown

² The term *unemployment* is used here to describe the situation of both nonagricultural and agricultural workers. A worker was considered employed if he had employment of at least 1 week's duration during the month. Of course employment for a farm operator who may or may not have a cash income is different from that of the urban employed, but the two are combined for terminological consistency.

³ See, for example, Hogg, Margaret H., *The Incidence of Work Shortage*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1932, diagrams 3 and 4.

Table 21.—Employment Status of Workers¹ in Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Usual Occupation, June 1935
[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Usual occupation	Total workers ²		Employed		Unem- ployed	Total employed workers		At usual occu- pation	At other than usual occupation
	Number	Percent	Agricul- ture	Nonagri- culture		Number	Percent		
Total.....	80,684	100.0	37.1	7.5	55.4	36,013	100.0	85.5	14.5
Agriculture.....	37,792	100.0	69.7	1.1	29.2	26,754	100.0	95.8	4.2
Farm operator.....	18,686	100.0	85.3	1.0	13.7	16,136	100.0	96.3	3.7
Owner.....	6,789	100.0	92.9	0.6	6.5	6,346	100.0	97.9	2.1
Tenant.....	9,827	100.0	86.8	1.5	11.7	8,604	100.0	98.6	3.4
Cropper ³	2,070	100.0	53.6	2.8	43.6	1,168	100.0	85.1	14.9
Farm laborer.....	19,106	100.0	51.4	1.2	44.4	10,618	100.0	95.1	4.9
Nonagriculture.....	33,125	100.0	10.8	17.1	72.1	9,251	100.0	55.7	44.3
White collar.....	3,253	100.0	5.8	28.1	66.1	1,101	100.0	71.0	29.0
Skilled.....	4,068	100.0	11.1	12.4	76.5	957	100.0	36.8	63.2
Semiskilled.....	5,729	100.0	8.9	16.1	75.0	1,431	100.0	54.0	46.0
Unskilled.....	20,075	100.0	12.1	16.6	71.3	5,762	100.0	56.4	43.6
No usual occupation.....	9,767	100.0	0.1	*	99.9	8	†	—	†

* Less than 0.05 percent.
 † Percent not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases.
 1 Persons 16 through 64 years of age working or seeking work.
 2 Exclusive of workers whose employment status was unknown.
 3 In the 2 Cotton Areas.

even better when workers reporting employment are considered according to whether they were employed at their usual occupation or at other than their usual occupation. Thus, 95.8 percent of the workers in agriculture who were employed at the time of the survey were engaged in their usual occupation as contrasted with 55.7 percent of

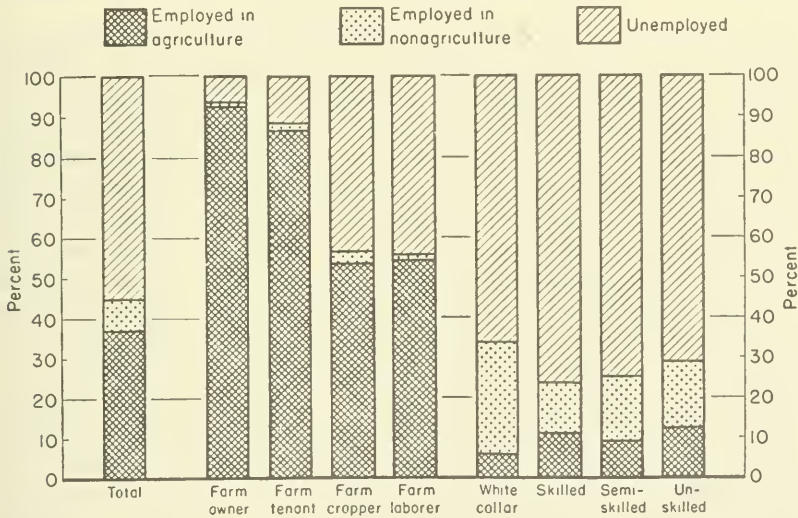


FIG. 20 - EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF WORKERS IN RURAL FAMILIES RECEIVING GENERAL RELIEF, BY USUAL OCCUPATION

June 1935

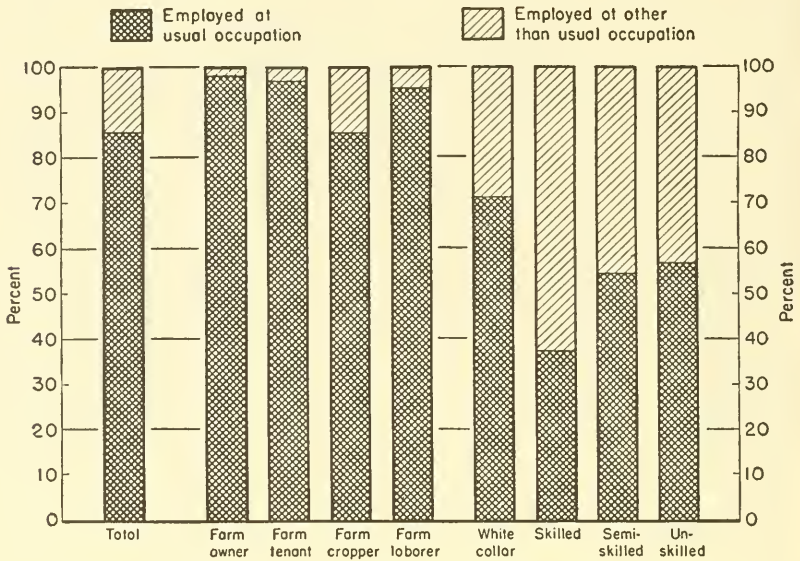


FIG. 21 - OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE OF WORKERS IN RURAL FAMILIES RECEIVING GENERAL RELIEF, BY USUAL OCCUPATION

June 1935

AF-2812, WPA

the workers in nonagriculture. The remainder who had some employment had shifted to something other than their usual occupation. Part of this difference between agriculture and nonagriculture may be explained by the fact that in many regions agriculture represents a direct shift down the scale for all occupations. Thus, when workers in general are moving down the occupational scale, workers in the lower levels are displaced, but those who are able to retain their positions do not move any farther down the scale. Therefore, 56.4 percent of the unskilled laborers who were employed were recorded as working at their usual occupation. This is a higher proportion than in either of the two occupational levels just above, particularly among skilled laborers, but not equal to that for white-collar workers.

The employment data according to occupation for white and Negro families in the Cotton Areas showed that about the same proportions of agricultural workers were totally unemployed but that more of the white workers in nonagricultural pursuits were totally unemployed (fig. 22 and appendix table 24). This was true in spite of the fact that more of the white nonagricultural workers had shifted into farming, 25.8 percent of the employed white nonagricultural workers being engaged in agriculture as contrasted with only 4.7 percent of the employed Negro workers.

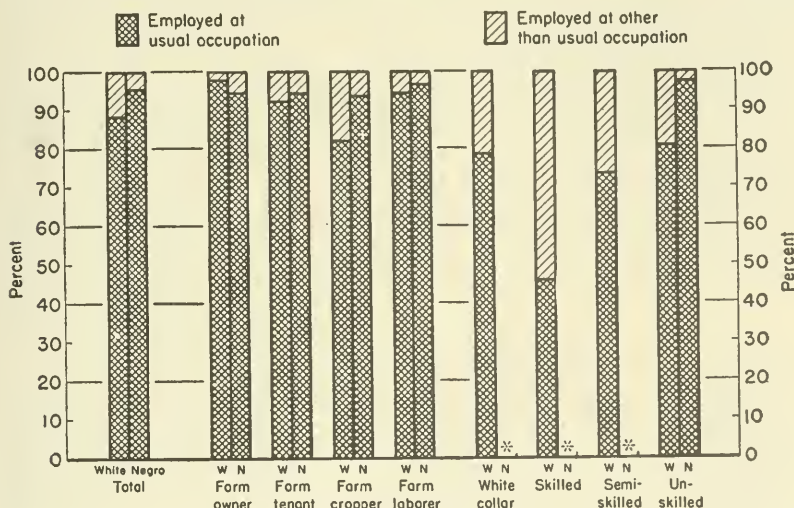


FIG. 22—OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE OF WHITE AND NEGRO WORKERS IN RURAL FAMILIES RECEIVING GENERAL RELIEF IN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN COTTON AREAS, BY USUAL OCCUPATION

June 1935

*Percent not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases.

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UNEMPLOYMENT PRIOR TO RELIEF

The next question to be considered is the lapse of time between the last job of the head of the family at his usual occupation and the acceptance of relief by rural families in their first relief period in June 1935. The analysis shows in part the effect of reserve accumulations which ward off the necessity of going on relief and in part the group mores in regard to receipt of relief.

In the case of both agricultural and nonagricultural heads of families, without current employment at the usual occupation, the period between the last usual job and the opening of the relief case became progressively shorter in the lower social strata (table 22). This was particularly noticeable in the proportion of families whose head had a job at the opening of the case or who had been out of work only 1 or 2 months. Of the workers in agriculture on relief for the first time, 11.4 percent had a job at the time of going on relief, and of the workers in nonagriculture, 5.5 percent were employed. Within agriculture the smallest proportion of these cases was among owners (5.0 percent) and the greatest proportion among tenants (14.3 percent). Farm laborers less frequently (12.1 percent) had a job at the opening of the case, but an unusually large proportion (28.7 percent) had been unemployed 1 month or less. Among the nonagricultural heads of

Table 22.—Length of Time Between End of Last Job of the Head at Usual Occupation and Accession to Relief of Rural Families in Their First Relief Period, by Residence and Usual Occupation of Head, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and usual occupation of head	Total ¹		Months between end of job and accession to relief							
	Number	Per cent	None (job ended after opening)	1 or less	2	3-6	7-12	13-24	25-36	37 or more
TOTAL RURAL										
Total	15,982	100.0	7.2	22.8	9.3	18.5	11.1	10.3	6.2	14.6
Agriculture	4,681	100.0	11.4	23.5	9.7	21.6	11.3	9.8	4.1	8.6
Farm operator	1,500	100.0	10.0	12.3	7.0	22.1	12.7	15.7	6.5	13.7
Owner	318	100.0	5.0	9.1	6.0	13.5	11.3	16.4	9.4	29.3
Tenant	704	100.0	14.3	12.9	5.1	20.8	14.0	14.0	6.3	12.6
Cropper ²	478	100.0	7.1	13.8	10.5	29.7	11.3	18.0	5.0	4.6
Farm laborer	3,181	100.0	12.1	28.7	11.0	21.4	10.6	7.0	3.0	6.2
Nonagriculture	11,301	100.0	5.5	22.6	9.1	17.1	11.1	10.5	7.1	17.0
White collar	1,119	100.0	3.6	14.8	8.0	15.8	12.9	13.1	10.0	21.8
Skilled	1,675	100.0	4.8	15.9	9.6	15.5	11.6	11.2	9.0	22.4
Semiskilled	2,056	100.0	5.6	21.9	7.1	16.4	11.0	9.6	7.1	21.3
Unskilled	6,451	100.0	6.0	25.8	9.8	18.0	10.6	10.2	6.1	13.5
OPEN COUNTRY³										
Total	6,302	100.0	7.5	23.3	10.0	18.8	9.9	10.4	6.0	14.1
Agriculture	2,574	100.0	13.4	26.7	10.8	23.9	9.2	7.9	3.2	4.9
Farm operator	788	100.0	10.7	13.7	8.6	26.9	12.7	13.5	6.3	7.6
Owner	112	100.0	7.1	8.9	7.1	19.7	10.7	12.5	16.1	17.9
Tenant	332	100.0	15.7	13.9	6.0	26.4	13.9	13.3	3.6	7.2
Cropper ²	344	100.0	7.0	15.1	11.6	29.6	12.2	14.0	5.8	4.7
Farm laborer	1,786	100.0	14.6	32.5	11.8	22.5	7.6	5.5	1.8	3.7
Nonagriculture	3,728	100.0	3.4	21.1	9.4	15.3	10.4	12.1	7.9	20.4
White collar	258	100.0	1.6	11.6	8.5	8.5	18.6	12.4	10.9	27.9
Skilled	520	100.0	4.6	11.9	7.7	12.3	9.2	14.6	12.7	27.0
Semiskilled	652	100.0	2.5	20.2	8.6	14.7	10.7	11.0	8.3	24.0
Unskilled	2,298	100.0	3.7	24.2	10.2	17.0	9.7	11.8	6.4	17.0
VILLAGE³										
Total	7,812	100.0	6.6	23.7	8.8	18.9	12.5	10.8	6.7	12.0
Agriculture	1,848	100.0	10.0	19.8	8.3	19.6	14.2	13.1	5.3	9.7
Farm operator	632	100.0	10.1	10.8	5.7	18.0	13.3	19.7	6.6	15.8
Owner	130	100.0	4.6	7.7	7.7	12.3	15.4	24.6	4.6	23.1
Tenant	368	100.0	13.0	12.0	4.3	15.8	14.1	14.7	8.7	17.4
Cropper ²	134	100.0	7.5	10.4	7.5	29.8	9.0	28.3	3.0	4.5
Farm laborer	1,216	100.0	9.9	24.5	9.7	20.4	14.6	9.7	4.6	6.6
Nonagriculture	5,964	100.0	5.6	24.9	9.0	18.7	12.0	10.0	7.1	12.7
White collar	684	100.0	4.1	16.7	8.8	17.5	12.3	14.0	9.6	17.0
Skilled	840	100.0	4.8	17.4	11.0	18.0	13.3	10.7	7.9	16.9
Semiskilled	852	100.0	4.9	27.1	5.6	18.3	12.7	9.9	7.7	13.8
Unskilled	3,588	100.0	6.2	27.6	9.4	19.1	11.5	9.1	6.4	10.7

¹ Exclusive of heads who were currently employed at the usual occupation, who were nonworkers, who had no usual occupation, and for whom months between end of job and accession to relief were unknown.

² In the 2 Cotton Areas.

³ Exclusive of New England.

families the proportion became larger in the lower occupational levels for each interval up to 6 months. Thus, 3.6 percent of the white-collar workers were working at the time of first going on relief as contrasted with 6.0 percent of the unskilled workers. There were almost twice as many unskilled workers as white-collar workers who were unemployed 1 month or less before going on relief.

In the case of families whose head had been unemployed more than 3 years before going on relief, the proportions usually became greater

with successive steps up the occupational ladder for both agricultural and nonagricultural workers. While in general there was a greater lapse in time for nonagricultural workers than for agricultural workers before applying for assistance, the most outstanding group was the farm owners, 29.3 percent of whom were unemployed more than 3 years before going on relief. Thus, if the lapse of time between first unemployment and relief is correlated with the accumulations of the successful years, agricultural families have smaller reserve funds than nonagricultural families. But the group which holds out longest against relief is the farm owners.

REASON FOR ACCESSION TO RELIEF

When rural families on relief in June 1935 were classified according to the reason for opening or reopening the relief case, loss of employment was found to account for 24.6 percent of all cases, loss or depletion of assets for 33.6 percent, and crop failure or loss of livestock for 13.6 percent (appendix table 25). The other groups were more clearly those which are usually designated as dependent or defective classes in contrast with normal classes which were forced on relief by special circumstances of the depression period. Hence, insufficient income accounted for 12.4 percent of the total group, disability for 5.2 percent, and all other reasons for 10.6 percent.

The differences between open country families and village families in the reasons for going on relief were primarily associated with the differences between agriculture and nonagriculture. Loss of crops or livestock or the depletion of assets was most important in the open country, and the loss of a job or the depletion of assets was most important in villages.

Loss of employment accounted for 35.5 percent of the cases in the Hay and Dairy Area, 34.8 percent in the Ranching Area, and 30.2 percent in the Corn Belt. In contrast it accounted for but 18.0 percent of the cases in the Winter Wheat Area, 14.1 percent in the Appalachian-Ozark Area, and 13.6 percent in the Spring Wheat Area. When analyzed on the basis of residence, these differences were accentuated.

As a factor in the relief situation loss or depletion of assets was not consistently related to any particular type of farming. It accounted for 48.6 percent of the cases in the Appalachian-Ozark Area, 48.9 percent in New England, and 34.2 percent in the Lake States Cut-Over Area as contrasted with 21.2 percent in the Western Cotton Area and 14.8 percent in the Spring Wheat Area.

Insufficient income accounted for 10 to 15 percent of the cases except in the Spring Wheat and Ranching Areas where it was considerably less important as a direct cause of the need for relief. Disability was most important in the areas which tend toward self-sufficient

agriculture—Eastern Cotton, Hay and Dairy, Lake States Cut-Over, Appalachian-Ozark, and New England.

Some of the chief effects of the drought period were readily noticeable in that crop failure or loss of livestock was most important in the drought areas. This reason accounted for 81.4 percent of the open country cases in the Spring Wheat Area, 39.7 percent in the Winter Wheat Area, 33.2 percent in the Ranching Area, 31.9 percent in the Corn Belt, and 28.3 percent in the Western Cotton Area. In all of the other areas it accounted for less than 14 percent of the open country relief cases, and it was not a significant direct cause of relief among the village cases of any area.

The two races in the Cotton Areas reported different "causes" of relief (appendix table 25). Negroes were on relief more often because of insufficient income or disability, while whites were on relief more often because of loss or depletion of assets or crop failure. The two races were about equal with regard to loss of job in ordinary employment. These differences no doubt reflect the fact that Negroes occupy a lower economic status than whites. Under ordinary conditions they have but very slight accumulations of wealth or property and thus have little to tide them over periods of depression. It is true that whites suffer relatively more from unemployment than Negroes (appendix table 24), but more Negroes who are working are not receiving sufficient pay to provide a livelihood. Negro cases tend more often to conform to the predepression definition of a charity case, while whites are more often of the type defined during the depression as the "new poor"—relief recipients who have for most of their lives been self-supporting.

RELIEF HISTORY

When rural relief families were analyzed according to continuity of their relief histories, certain trends were observable. Of all cases on relief in June 1935, 74.3 percent of the families had received assistance continuously since February (appendix table 26). Another 14.2 percent of the cases had been reopened⁴ between March and June, and only 11.5 percent were new cases, coming on relief for the first time. The greatest proportion of new cases in this period was in New England (19.1 percent) and the smallest in the Spring Wheat Area (4.9 percent). Slightly more new cases proportionately appeared in the villages than in the open country.

While 74.3 percent of all relief cases were continuous from February through June, the proportion varied from 66.6 percent in the Eastern Cotton Area to 81.4 percent in the Spring Wheat Area. New cases ranged from 4.9 percent to 19.1 percent, and the fewest new cases were to be found in the drought areas: namely, the Spring Wheat,

⁴ For definition of reopened case, see appendix A, pp. 110-111.



Farm Security Administration (Lec).

Drought Victims.

Winter Wheat, and Western Cotton Areas. In these same areas there tended to be high proportions of cases which had been continuously on relief since February, which probably indicates that sufficient time had not yet elapsed for farmers to recover from the drought of 1934.

Also illustrative of the lower economic status of the Negroes in the South was the fact that they more often had continuous relief histories than the whites in spite of differences between the two Cotton Areas (appendix table 26). The difference between Negroes and whites in this respect was greater in the Eastern than in the Western Cotton Area.

A study of the relief history of rural families according to occupation shows that agricultural families were on relief more continuously than nonagricultural families from February through June 1935. There were also fewer new cases in agriculture (table 23). The specific occupational levels within these two major groups were apparently uncorrelated with the continuity of relief history except that there was a slight tendency toward more new cases among the croppers and farm laborers in the agricultural group.

Table 23.—Relief History of Rural Families Receiving Relief, by Usual Occupation of Head, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Usual occupation of head	Total ¹		Continuously on relief February through June	Opened March-June	Reopened March-June
	Number	Percent			
Total.....	62,771	100.0	74.3	11.5	14.2
Agriculture.....	25,524	100.0	75.4	9.5	15.1
Farm operator.....	18,423	100.0	74.4	9.2	16.4
Owner.....	6,694	100.0	72.7	9.6	17.7
Tenant.....	9,705	100.0	75.7	8.7	15.6
Cropper ²	2,024	100.0	73.6	10.1	16.3
Farm laborer.....	7,101	100.0	77.9	10.3	11.8
Nonagriculture.....	25,884	100.0	71.4	14.1	14.5
White collar.....	2,315	100.0	71.1	17.2	11.7
Skilled.....	3,801	100.0	75.6	12.4	12.0
Semiskilled.....	4,287	100.0	66.6	18.1	15.3
Unskilled.....	15,481	100.0	71.8	12.9	15.3
No usual occupation.....	1,545	100.0	77.2	12.2	10.6
Nonworker.....	9,818	100.0	78.8	9.5	11.7

¹ Exclusive of families for which relief history was unknown.

² In the 2 Cotton Areas.

AMOUNT OF RELIEF

Among the various factors which may affect the amount of relief needed in individual cases is the severity of economic distress. Here regional variations and rural-urban differences are of great importance since the business depression is primarily a difficulty of a highly industrialized and commercialized economy. Thus, rural sections, and especially those which tend toward self-sufficiency, are less susceptible to the fluctuations of the business cycle, and their need will not be as directly correlated with it.

Another variable is the standard of living in the respective areas. This includes the minimum standard of physical need as defined by the customs and conditions of the community; it includes also the cost of purchasing these items in the open market. In general the higher the material standard of living in an area the higher the relief outlays which are necessary in time of depression. Hence, on this basis also there are variations among areas in the type and quantity of relief that will be granted and in the amount of money that will be necessary for such provisions.

It is not surprising to note that the lowest average monthly amount granted to relief families during June 1935 was found in the Western Cotton Area (\$10) (appendix table 27). It was but little higher in the Eastern Cotton and Appalachian-Ozark Areas (\$12). The highest average amount of relief was found in the Lake States Cut-Over and Hay and Dairy Areas (\$23) and in New England (\$37). These areas are either districts of high relief intensity⁵ or they are rural areas contiguous to highly urbanized regions where the cost of living is high. It is consistent also that in every area, with the exception of the Western Cotton and Ranching Areas, the average cost of relief was higher in the villages than in the open country. This is probably due in part to the higher cost of living, less subsistence production, and the higher standards of relief in such places, and in part to the probability that more cases were on full relief in the villages than on the farms, where family resources may be greater.

The importance of minimum standards of relief was most noticeable in the South in the contrast between the races. In the Eastern Cotton Area the average white relief family received \$14 in June 1935, as contrasted with \$8 for the average Negro family. In the Western Cotton Area these amounts were \$11 and \$8, respectively. The explanation for the racial differences lies mainly in the comparative standards of living. Negro families, on the average, have poorer physical equipment for each occupational level than white families. The average value of the Negro's farm dwelling in the Southeast is usually only about half that of his white neighbor; and Negro dwellings have fewer of the benefits of sanitation, screening, and other household improvements.⁶ Thus there are smaller demands on relief officials to supply these meager wants. Further, the caste system makes equal relief grants psychologically impossible in many parts of the South.

That southern families received relatively smaller amounts of relief was shown even more clearly when relief families were classified ac-

⁵ See ch. I.

⁶ See Woofter, T. J., Jr., *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation*, Research Monograph V, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1936, ch. VII.

ording to the total amount of relief (appendix table 28). In the Cotton and Appalachian-Ozark Areas only small percentages of both open country and village relief families received \$30 or more in June 1935. The fact that Negro families received smaller amounts of relief than white families, inasmuch as 19 percent more Negro than white families in the Eastern Cotton Area and 9 percent more in the Western Cotton Area received less than \$15 for relief, especially needs emphasis.

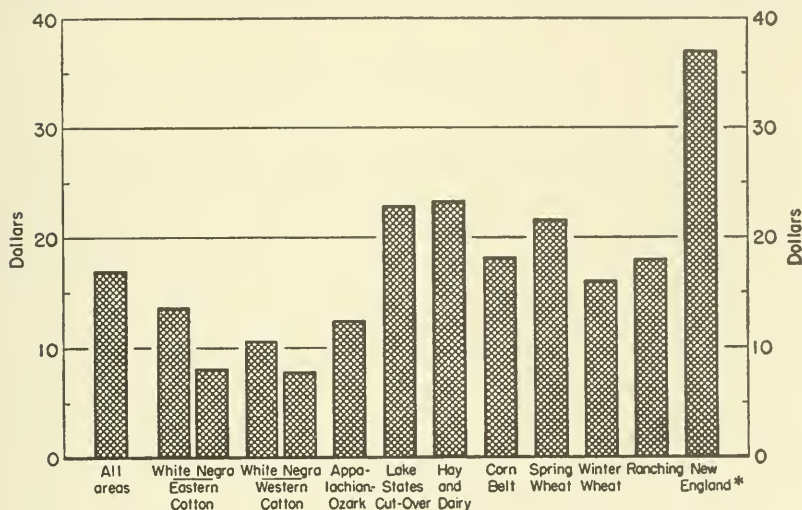


FIG. 23—AVERAGE AMOUNT OF GENERAL RELIEF RECEIVED BY RURAL FAMILIES, BY AREA
June 1935

*Townships in Connecticut and Massachusetts only.

AF-2814, WPA

In terms of the average amount of relief per family, the families receiving direct relief were the least expensive and those receiving work relief were next with the average amount almost 50 percent greater for the latter type (appendix table 27). Families receiving a combination of both work and direct relief were most expensive of all. In June 1935 direct relief cost an average of \$13; work relief, \$18; and the combination of both, \$25 per rural family. In the case of all types of relief the cost of relief in New England was on the average over three times that in the South. Similarly, in almost every case the cost of each type of relief was greater in the villages than in the open country.

The average amount granted per family for each type of relief was smallest in the South (fig. 23 and appendix table 27). The difference between the southern and other areas was occasionally as much as 100 percent or more. This was particularly true in direct relief cases

where the cost in the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas was only about one-third the cost in the Hay and Dairy, Lake States Cut-Over, and New England Areas. One important point here is the fact that the effect of the drought was not easily noticeable. That is, the two Wheat Areas, the Ranching Area, and to a certain extent the Western Cotton Area experienced the most severe drought. Yet none of these areas ranked consistently high in its average expenditure for each type of relief in June 1935.

Chapter IX

MOBILITY OF RURAL RELIEF FAMILIES

IN MANY respects mobility is an intangible variable, the effects of which are difficult to evaluate. This is due to its many possible inter-correlations with other fundamental sociological factors. However, it is possible to generalize in extreme cases. For one thing, extreme instability, particularly in an agricultural society, is generally considered in the long run to be disadvantageous to economic and social conditions. The frequent shifting from place to place has a tendency to make the individual neglect to develop or preserve his immediate surroundings since he has no interest in their permanent value. A population which is continually on the move has a tendency to neglect the repair of housing, to let landscaping go, and, of even more importance, to be careless about the utilization of land resources. If the continued existence of the family is dependent upon careful hoarding of its resources and frugal habits, reasonable stability is an asset and facilitates the process of accumulating reserves. When the family moves around at frequent intervals, these slow and careful accumulations gradually are wiped out. In addition to this effect, which is primarily economic, there is the psychological effect of long and continued residence in the same place. The power of the hearth and the home in maintaining the stability both of the individual and of the social order has been noted time and again.¹ Frequent mobility often exerts a subtle influence in breaking up the established systems of social relationships. These systems grow and develop at an extremely slow rate and are easily broken. Thus, in a very mobile society the power of group habits and customs may be undermined.

If too great instability is disadvantageous to a society, the reverse is equally true. A society in which the individual members are completely tied down to one locality may easily degenerate since initiative may be discouraged if not actually penalized.

Certainly there are few sections in the United States in which the population might be characterized as exceedingly stable. Many of the

¹ See Zimmerman, Carle C., *Consumption and Standards of Living*, New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1936, ch. VII.

newer sections have been settled but a few generations, and in most of the older sections new ethnic groups have been intermingled with the older racial stocks. There is a possibility that some of the isolated sections of New England may have been too stable in the eighteenth century, but that condition has long since been removed by the development of industries and cities and by the immigration of thousands of other Europeans. This situation is also true of the Middle Atlantic States, while in the South the lack of large-scale immigration is more than balanced by the mobility of the tenant and cropper families.

MOBILITY BY AREA

Only crude measures of the mobility of the rural relief population were available. For the most part the families were divided into three groups: *lifelong residents*, referring to those families whose heads were born in the counties in which they were living at the time of the survey; *predepression migrants*, referring to those families whose heads moved to the counties of survey at any time prior to 1930; and *depression migrants*, including those families whose heads moved to the counties of survey some time during the period January 1930 to June 1935.

Of the heads of rural families on relief in June 1935, 40.5 percent were lifelong residents of the county, 45.6 percent had moved to the county before the depression, and the remaining 13.9 percent were depression migrants (table 24). Lifelong residence was correlated rather closely with the period of settlement of the various areas and with the extent of urbanization.

That the more recently settled areas had fewer lifelong residents among the heads of rural relief families was very evident. The proportion of such residents was 14.4 percent in the Winter Wheat Area, 17.8 percent in the Lake States Cut-Over Area, 22.4 percent in the Ranching Area, and 28.0 percent in the Spring Wheat Area. These are all areas of comparatively recent settlement, and, indeed, portions of the two Wheat Areas and of the Lake States Cut-Over Area were settled as recently as the World War. Proportionately more lifelong residents were found in the South and the other sections of older settlement.

In the New England, Spring Wheat, and Appalachian-Ozark Areas only a few of the heads of rural relief families were depression migrants in comparison with much higher proportions elsewhere. Unusual migration from January 1930 to June 1935 may be attributed primarily to one or the other of two "causes," the drought or industrial depression. The extreme drought in the Spring and Winter Wheat Areas resulted in a large-scale migration out of the territory, and the business depression in the cities was the cause of a considerable back-to-the-farm movement.² The back-to-the-farm movement was ap-

² Baker, O. E., "Rural and Urban Distribution of the Population in the United States," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 188, November 1936, pp. 264-279.



Associated Press.

Moving Time.

Table 24.—Mobility of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence and Area, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total ¹		Lifelong residents of county	Predepression migrants to county	Depression migrants to county
	Number	Percent			
TOTAL RURAL					
All areas	62,060	100.0	40.5	45.6	13.9
Eastern Cotton.....	7,684	100.0	48.1	35.0	16.9
White.....	5,040	100.0	42.9	35.7	21.4
Negro.....	2,644	100.0	58.2	33.6	8.2
Western Cotton.....	7,098	100.0	30.0	52.1	17.9
White.....	5,280	100.0	25.5	52.9	21.6
Negro.....	1,808	100.0	42.6	51.3	7.3
Appalachian-Ozark.....	16,972	100.0	59.6	31.3	9.1
Lake States Cut-Over.....	3,712	100.0	17.8	68.6	13.6
Hay and Dairy.....	8,602	100.0	34.6	48.9	16.5
Corn Belt.....	7,470	100.0	36.1	46.2	17.7
Spring Wheat.....	3,184	100.0	28.0	65.3	6.7
Winter Wheat.....	1,260	100.0	14.4	57.8	27.8
Ranching.....	1,858	100.0	22.4	58.5	19.1
New England.....	4,220	100.0	32.2	59.0	8.8
OPEN COUNTRY					
All areas ²	35,346	100.0	45.8	39.9	14.3
Eastern Cotton.....	4,962	100.0	50.3	31.5	18.2
White.....	3,330	100.0	44.2	32.5	23.3
Negro.....	1,632	100.0	62.7	29.5	7.8
Western Cotton.....	4,560	100.0	31.2	50.2	18.6
White.....	3,404	100.0	26.7	50.9	22.4
Negro.....	1,156	100.0	44.5	43.1	7.4
Appalachian-Ozark.....	12,034	100.0	66.8	24.4	8.8
Lake States Cut-Over.....	2,430	100.0	18.3	66.7	15.0
Hay and Dairy.....	5,013	100.0	35.9	46.4	17.7
Corn Belt.....	2,784	100.0	39.4	40.1	20.5
Spring Wheat.....	2,274	100.0	31.0	63.5	5.5
Winter Wheat.....	644	100.0	17.7	51.9	30.4
Ranching.....	640	100.0	13.1	69.7	17.2
VILLAGE					
All areas ²	22,494	100.0	33.6	52.1	14.3
Eastern Cotton.....	2,722	100.0	44.3	41.3	14.4
White.....	1,710	100.0	40.3	42.0	17.7
Negro.....	1,012	100.0	51.0	40.1	8.9
Western Cotton.....	2,538	100.0	27.5	55.8	16.7
White.....	1,886	100.0	23.4	56.6	20.0
Negro.....	652	100.0	39.3	53.6	7.1
Appalachian-Ozark.....	4,938	100.0	41.9	48.1	10.0
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,282	100.0	17.0	71.9	11.1
Hay and Dairy.....	3,584	100.0	32.9	52.3	14.8
Corn Belt.....	4,686	100.0	34.2	49.7	16.1
Spring Wheat.....	910	100.0	20.4	69.9	9.7
Winter Wheat.....	616	100.0	11.0	64.0	25.0
Ranching.....	1,218	100.0	27.3	52.7	20.0

¹ Exclusive of heads of families whose mobility was unknown.² Exclusive of New England.

parently of greatest importance in the self-sufficing areas of the Northeast. It was also of great importance in the mountain areas of the South. This movement from the cities to the farms was of little importance in the areas of commercialized and extensive agriculture. Migration because of the drought came principally from the Wheat Areas and the Western Cotton Area and resulted in a shift of population within those areas and also a movement to the villages and to States in the far West.

The southern areas stand out as areas of comparative stability. Relatively more of the heads of relief families were lifelong residents, and there were relatively fewer recent migrants. It is a known fact,

however, that many of the occupational classes in the South are extremely mobile within short distances. The average white tenant, cropper, and laborer family on plantations stays about 5 years on each farm while the average Negro family remains just over 6 years.³ Most of the mobility of these classes in the South is of such relatively short range that it does not appear in the tabulations on which this report is based.

The greater mobility of white than Negro relief families in the South is demonstrated by the large proportion of white heads that had moved into the county of residence since 1929 (table 24). Between two and three times as many white as Negro heads of rural relief families were depression migrants. These relative proportions held true in both the open country and villages. Almost three-fifths of the Negro heads of families in the Eastern Cotton Area and just over two-fifths in the Western Cotton Area were lifelong residents of the county. In contrast the proportions of white families that were lifelong residents were only two-fifths and one-fourth, respectively.

The contrast between the open country and village families reveals again the fact that villages as a whole stand between the open country and cities in many social characteristics. In all but the Ranching Area a larger proportion of the heads of relief families in the open country than in villages were lifelong residents of the county. The difference was greatest in the Appalachian-Ozark Area where 66.8 percent of the heads of these families in the open country were lifelong residents of their counties as compared with 41.9 percent in the villages. The Appalachian-Ozark, Spring Wheat, and Ranching Areas had slightly more depression migrants in the villages than in the open country, probably for entirely different reasons.

Excluding lifelong residents, rural relief families were considered from the standpoint of the time of migration. Among the migrant families there were more depression migrants proportionately in the Eastern Cotton and Winter Wheat Areas than in the other areas surveyed. The back-to-the-farm movement was evident in the greater proportion of depression migrants to the open country than to villages (table 25). Only in the Spring Wheat and Ranching Areas was there a larger proportion of depression migrants to villages.

The distance of migration during the depression was also reflected in the proportions which came from elsewhere within the same State and from other States. Again migration in the South was seen to be primarily for short distances. The depression movement from the cities to farming areas was probably one of the factors in these migration data. The proportions of relief migrants who came from the

³ Woofter, T. J., Jr., *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation*, Research Monograph V, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1936, ch. VIII.

Table 25.—Mobility of Migrant Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence and Area, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total ¹		Predepression migrants to county	Depression migrants to county	Predepression migrants to county			Depression migrants to county		
	Number	Per cent			Total	During childhood	During youth or adulthood	Total	From same State	From another State
TOTAL RURAL										
All areas.....	36,939	100.0	76.6	23.4	100.0	20.6	79.4	100.0	72.4	27.6
Eastern Cotton.....	3,984	100.0	67.5	32.5	100.0	19.6	80.4	100.0	72.4	27.6
White.....	2,878	100.0	62.5	37.5	100.0	18.1	81.9	100.0	71.6	28.4
Negro.....	1,106	100.0	80.3	19.7	100.0	22.5	77.5	100.0	76.1	23.9
Western Cotton.....	4,978	100.0	74.4	25.6	100.0	25.5	74.5	100.0	78.6	21.4
White.....	3,940	100.0	71.1	28.9	100.0	27.2	72.8	100.0	77.4	22.6
Negro.....	1,038	100.0	87.3	12.7	100.0	20.1	79.9	100.0	89.4	10.6
Appalachian-Ozark.....	6,862	100.0	77.4	22.6	100.0	20.7	79.3	100.0	78.7	21.3
Lake States Cut-Over.....	3,050	100.0	83.4	16.6	100.0	17.8	82.2	100.0	57.3	42.7
Hay and Dairy.....	5,622	100.0	74.8	25.2	100.0	17.9	82.1	100.0	72.8	27.2
Corn Belt.....	4,770	100.0	72.2	27.8	100.0	18.7	81.3	100.0	75.5	24.5
Spring Wheat.....	2,292	100.0	90.8	9.2	100.0	29.3	70.7	100.0	62.3	37.7
Winter Wheat.....	1,078	100.0	67.5	32.5	100.0	20.9	79.1	100.0	73.7	26.3
Ranching.....	1,442	100.0	75.5	24.5	100.0	20.0	80.0	100.0	61.0	39.0
New England.....	2,861	100.0	87.0	13.0	100.0	17.6	82.4	100.0	49.3	50.7
OPEN COUNTRY										
All areas ²	19,142	100.0	73.6	26.4	100.0	22.1	77.9	100.0	73.9	26.1
Eastern Cotton.....	2,468	100.0	63.4	36.6	100.0	19.8	80.2	100.0	71.5	28.5
White.....	1,858	100.0	58.2	41.8	100.0	20.0	80.0	100.0	70.6	29.4
Negro.....	610	100.0	79.0	21.0	100.0	19.5	80.5	100.0	76.6	23.4
Western Cotton.....	3,138	100.0	73.0	27.0	100.0	26.4	73.6	100.0	76.2	23.8
White.....	2,496	100.0	69.5	30.5	100.0	27.1	72.9	100.0	74.8	25.2
Negro.....	642	100.0	86.6	13.4	100.0	24.1	75.9	100.0	88.4	11.6
Appalachian-Ozark.....	3,992	100.0	73.6	26.4	100.0	21.8	78.2	100.0	80.3	19.7
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,986	100.0	81.7	18.3	100.0	18.6	81.4	100.0	64.4	35.6
Hay and Dairy.....	3,218	100.0	72.5	27.5	100.0	18.3	81.7	100.0	73.1	26.9
Corn Belt.....	1,686	100.0	66.2	33.8	100.0	18.1	81.9	100.0	79.6	20.4
Spring Wheat.....	1,568	100.0	92.1	7.9	100.0	31.3	68.7	100.0	61.3	38.7
Winter Wheat.....	530	100.0	63.0	37.0	100.0	23.4	76.6	100.0	62.7	37.3
Ranching.....	556	100.0	80.2	19.8	100.0	21.1	78.9	100.0	56.4	43.6
VILLAGE										
All areas ²	14,936	100.0	78.4	21.6	100.0	19.6	80.4	100.0	72.8	27.2
Eastern Cotton.....	1,516	100.0	74.1	25.9	100.0	19.2	80.8	100.0	74.5	25.5
White.....	1,020	100.0	70.4	29.6	100.0	15.3	84.7	100.0	74.2	25.8
Negro.....	496	100.0	81.9	18.1	100.0	26.1	73.9	100.0	75.6	24.4
Western Cotton.....	1,840	100.0	77.0	23.0	100.0	24.0	76.0	100.0	83.5	16.5
White.....	1,444	100.0	73.8	26.2	100.0	27.4	72.6	100.0	82.5	17.5
Negro.....	396	100.0	88.4	11.6	100.0	13.7	86.3	100.0	91.3	8.7
Appalachian-Ozark.....	2,870	100.0	82.8	17.2	100.0	19.4	80.6	100.0	75.3	24.7
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,064	100.0	86.7	13.3	100.0	16.3	83.7	100.0	64.8	35.2
Hay and Dairy.....	2,404	100.0	77.9	22.1	100.0	17.5	82.5	100.0	72.2	27.8
Corn Belt.....	3,084	100.0	75.6	24.4	100.0	19.1	80.9	100.0	72.4	27.6
Spring Wheat.....	724	100.0	87.8	12.2	100.0	24.8	75.2	100.0	63.6	36.4
Winter Wheat.....	548	100.0	71.9	28.1	100.0	18.8	81.2	100.0	62.3	37.7
Ranching.....	886	100.0	72.5	27.5	100.0	19.3	80.7	100.0	63.1	36.9

¹ Exclusive of migrant heads of families whose period of migration was unknown.² Exclusive of New England.

same States were fewest in the Lake States Cut-Over, Ranching, Spring Wheat, and New England Areas. There were more depression migrants among whites than Negroes in the two Cotton Areas, but white families more often came from another State (table 25).

Mobility of relief families may also be approached from the point of view of the number of years of last continuous residence in the

Table 26.—Length of Last Continuous Residence in County of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence and Area, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total ¹		Years of last continuous residence in county						
	Number	Per cent	1 or less	2-3	4-5	6-9	10-14	15-19	20 or more
TOTAL RURAL									
All areas.....	62,256	100.0	3.4	5.7	5.1	10.2	8.1	8.2	59.3
Eastern Cotton.....	7,688	100.0	4.3	7.0	5.5	9.1	6.0	6.6	61.5
White.....	5,042	100.0	5.8	8.8	6.8	10.4	6.3	6.7	55.2
Negro.....	2,646	100.0	1.7	3.6	3.0	6.6	5.4	6.3	73.4
Western Cotton.....	7,160	100.0	5.1	7.6	6.0	12.7	9.7	8.8	50.1
White.....	5,340	100.0	6.5	9.2	6.7	13.5	9.8	9.1	45.2
Negro.....	1,820	100.0	1.2	2.9	3.8	10.4	9.5	8.0	64.2
Appalachian-Ozark.....	16,974	100.0	2.9	3.6	2.8	6.3	6.0	7.0	71.4
Lake States Cut-Over.....	3,744	100.0	1.3	7.3	5.6	11.4	12.0	13.9	48.5
Hay and Dairy.....	8,612	100.0	3.4	6.0	7.3	13.2	9.9	8.1	52.1
Corn Belt.....	7,484	100.0	4.2	7.4	6.3	12.9	7.5	6.8	54.9
Spring Wheat.....	3,222	100.0	1.6	3.2	3.1	8.1	6.2	9.0	68.8
Winter Wheat.....	1,274	100.0	5.3	10.7	12.9	17.4	8.9	8.0	36.8
Ranching.....	1,866	100.0	5.4	8.4	5.9	9.9	7.0	9.4	54.0
New England.....	4,232	100.0	1.8	3.3	4.2	11.2	13.2	11.2	55.1
OPEN COUNTRY									
All areas ²	35,474	100.0	3.6	5.9	5.1	9.1	6.8	6.9	62.6
Eastern Cotton.....	4,962	100.0	5.1	7.2	5.9	8.3	5.1	6.3	62.1
White.....	3,328	100.0	6.7	9.2	7.4	9.7	5.2	6.4	55.4
Negro.....	1,634	100.0	1.8	3.2	2.9	5.5	5.0	6.2	75.4
Western Cotton.....	4,606	100.0	5.4	8.1	6.0	12.6	9.7	7.6	50.6
White.....	3,440	100.0	6.9	9.7	6.7	14.0	9.8	7.7	45.2
Negro.....	1,166	100.0	1.0	3.4	3.8	8.7	9.3	7.4	66.4
Appalachian-Ozark.....	12,038	100.0	2.6	3.3	2.9	5.4	4.6	5.1	76.1
Lake States Cut-Over.....	2,456	100.0	1.4	8.5	5.9	10.7	10.7	13.7	49.1
Hay and Dairy.....	5,024	100.0	3.3	6.8	7.6	13.5	9.7	7.4	51.7
Corn Belt.....	2,790	100.0	5.7	8.0	7.0	12.2	6.3	5.7	55.1
Spring Wheat.....	2,298	100.0	1.7	2.4	2.3	6.6	5.2	8.6	73.2
Winter Wheat.....	662	100.0	5.4	13.9	13.3	14.8	7.9	6.9	37.8
Ranching.....	638	100.0	3.1	8.2	6.0	10.0	9.1	11.9	51.7
VILLAGE									
All areas ²	22,550	100.0	3.5	5.9	5.3	11.7	9.1	9.5	55.0
Eastern Cotton.....	2,726	100.0	3.1	6.7	4.8	10.5	7.6	7.0	60.3
White.....	1,714	100.0	4.1	8.2	5.7	11.8	8.5	7.4	54.3
Negro.....	1,012	100.0	1.4	4.3	3.2	8.3	5.9	6.5	70.4
Western Cotton.....	2,554	100.0	4.6	6.7	6.0	12.8	9.8	11.0	49.1
White.....	1,900	100.0	5.7	8.4	6.6	12.6	9.8	11.6	45.3
Negro.....	654	100.0	1.5	1.8	4.0	13.5	9.8	9.2	60.2
Appalachian-Ozark.....	4,936	100.0	3.4	4.2	2.4	8.5	9.2	11.7	60.6
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,288	100.0	1.2	5.0	5.1	12.6	14.4	14.3	47.4
Hay and Dairy.....	3,588	100.0	3.4	4.8	6.9	12.9	10.3	9.0	52.7
Corn Belt.....	4,694	100.0	3.3	7.0	6.0	13.3	8.1	7.4	54.9
Spring Wheat.....	924	100.0	1.0	5.2	5.0	11.9	8.7	10.0	58.2
Winter Wheat.....	612	100.0	5.2	7.2	12.4	20.3	10.1	9.2	35.6
Ranching.....	1,228	100.0	6.5	8.5	5.9	9.8	5.9	8.1	55.3

¹ Exclusive of heads of families whose length of last continuous residence was unknown.² Exclusive of New England.

county. Again the South stands out as being, in general, a region of stable families and of long-time residents in a single county (table 26). Rural relief families in the Eastern Cotton Area were more stable than those in the Western Cotton Area. More long-time residents were found in the Appalachian-Ozark than any other area. In contrast, the Winter Wheat and Lake States Cut-Over Areas had the fewest residents of 20 years or more. Almost the reverse was true of families which had been resident in the county for less than 6 years.

More of these families were found in the Winter Wheat, Ranching, and Western Cotton Areas and fewer in the Spring Wheat, Appalachian-Ozark, and New England Areas.

Again, in the classification according to years of residence, Negroes stood out as a more stable group than whites (table 26). In the Eastern Cotton Area 73.4 percent of the Negro relief families and 55.2 percent of the whites had lived in the county for 20 years or more. In the Western Cotton Area the comparable percentages were 64.2 and 45.2, respectively. Considered according to the proportion of families which had lived less than 1 year in the same county, whites were again seen to be more mobile than Negroes. Indeed, there were three to five times as many white as Negro families in this category.

MOBILITY BY OCCUPATION

Agriculture is an occupation which encourages stability as contrasted with nonagriculture. Of all rural relief families whose heads

Table 27.—Mobility of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence and Usual Occupation, June 1935
[138 counties¹]

Residence and usual occupation	Total ²		Lifelong residents of county	Predepression migrants to county	Depression migrants to county
	Number	Percent			
TOTAL RURAL					
Total.....	58,000	100.0	40.9	44.5	14.6
Agriculture.....	24,746	100.0	47.5	38.3	14.2
Farm operator.....	17,974	100.0	49.7	38.3	12.0
Farm laborer.....	6,772	100.0	41.4	38.5	20.1
Nonagriculture.....	23,014	100.0	36.2	46.4	17.4
White collar.....	2,008	100.0	32.9	44.1	22.0
Skilled.....	3,240	100.0	28.6	48.9	22.5
Semiskilled.....	3,346	100.0	36.4	42.2	21.4
Unskilled.....	14,420	100.0	38.3	47.0	14.7
No usual occupation.....	1,408	100.0	53.8	35.8	10.4
Nonworker.....	8,832	100.0	32.9	58.1	9.0
OPEN COUNTRY					
Total.....	35,462	100.0	45.7	39.7	14.6
Agriculture.....	20,306	100.0	49.2	37.3	13.5
Farm operator.....	15,966	100.0	51.0	37.7	11.3
Farm laborer.....	4,340	100.0	42.6	35.9	21.5
Nonagriculture.....	9,792	100.0	41.1	39.3	19.6
White collar.....	604	100.0	32.5	38.4	29.1
Skilled.....	1,274	100.0	28.9	43.2	27.9
Semiskilled.....	1,472	100.0	38.3	35.7	26.0
Unskilled.....	6,442	100.0	44.9	39.5	15.6
No usual occupation.....	672	100.0	60.4	29.8	9.8
Nonworker.....	4,692	100.0	37.7	52.5	9.8
VILLAGE					
Total.....	22,538	100.0	33.5	51.9	14.6
Agriculture.....	4,440	100.0	39.3	43.1	17.6
Farm operator.....	2,008	100.0	39.4	43.1	17.5
Farm laborer.....	2,432	100.0	39.2	43.2	17.6
Nonagriculture.....	13,222	100.0	32.7	51.5	15.8
White collar.....	1,404	100.0	34.5	46.6	18.9
Skilled.....	1,966	100.0	28.4	52.6	19.0
Semiskilled.....	1,874	100.0	34.9	47.3	17.8
Unskilled.....	7,978	100.0	32.9	53.1	14.0
No usual occupation.....	736	100.0	47.8	41.3	10.9
Nonworker.....	4,140	100.0	27.5	64.5	8.0

¹ Data not available for New England townships.

² Exclusive of heads of families whose mobility was unknown.

were usually engaged in agriculture, 47.5 percent of those in agriculture were lifelong residents of the county in contrast with 36.2 percent of the heads in nonagriculture (table 27). Farm operators were more stable than farm laborers, but among the nonagricultural occupations unskilled laborers were the most stable group. Some differences appeared among these occupational levels in regard to the number who had been migrants before the depression, but the most important differences appeared in the number of depression migrants. More nonagricultural than agricultural workers had moved during the depression. More than one-fifth of the white-collar, skilled, and semiskilled workers and one-seventh of the unskilled workers had moved since 1929. Within agriculture more farm laborers than farm operators had moved during the depression. Among farm laborers and among nonagricultural workers there were more depression mi-

Table 28.—Mobility of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief in the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas, by Color and Usual Occupation, June 1935

[44 counties]

Color and usual occupation	Total ¹		Lifelong residents of county	Predepression migrants to county	Depression migrants to county
	Number	Percent			
TOTAL RURAL					
Total.....	14,850	100.0	39.2	43.0	17.8
Agriculture.....	7,514	100.0	41.4	40.2	18.4
Farm operator.....	4,614	100.0	42.5	41.2	16.3
Farm laborer.....	2,900	100.0	39.5	38.6	21.9
Nonagriculture.....	4,186	100.0	36.3	42.2	21.5
White collar.....	532	100.0	39.9	39.8	20.3
Skilled.....	518	100.0	28.6	40.1	31.3
Semiskilled.....	820	100.0	33.9	42.9	23.2
Unskilled.....	2,316	100.0	38.1	42.9	19.0
No usual occupation.....	376	100.0	46.8	36.2	17.0
Nonworker.....	2,774	100.0	36.5	53.1	10.4
WHITE					
Total.....	10,384	100.0	33.8	44.3	21.9
Agriculture.....	5,408	100.0	34.5	43.4	22.1
Farm operator.....	3,516	100.0	37.9	43.1	19.0
Farm laborer.....	1,892	100.0	28.1	44.0	27.9
Nonagriculture.....	3,142	100.0	33.0	41.6	25.4
White collar.....	502	100.0	42.2	37.9	19.9
Skilled.....	470	100.0	26.4	39.1	34.5
Semiskilled.....	760	100.0	32.1	43.2	24.7
Unskilled.....	1,410	100.0	32.3	43.0	24.7
No usual occupation.....	346	100.0	45.7	37.0	17.3
Nonworker.....	1,488	100.0	30.2	55.0	14.8
NEGRO					
Total.....	4,466	100.0	51.7	40.2	8.1
Agriculture.....	2,106	100.0	59.1	32.0	8.9
Farm operator.....	1,098	100.0	57.4	35.1	7.5
Farm laborer.....	1,008	100.0	60.9	28.6	10.5
Nonagriculture.....	1,044	100.0	46.4	43.8	9.8
White collar.....	30	†	—	†	—
Skilled.....	48	†	†	†	—
Semiskilled.....	60	100.0	56.7	40.0	3.3
Unskilled.....	906	100.0	47.0	42.8	10.2
No usual occupation.....	30	†	†	†	—
Nonworker.....	1,286	100.0	43.7	50.9	5.4

† Percent not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases.

¹ Exclusive of heads of families whose mobility was unknown.

grants proportionately in the open country, but among farm operators there were more depression migrants in the villages. Thus, the depression meant a move to the village for farm operators and a move to the country for nonagricultural workers, while many farm laborers simply moved to another location in the open country.

The greater mobility of white families on relief in the South was principally a racial difference rather than an occupational difference. This is indicated by the fact that there were more lifelong residents

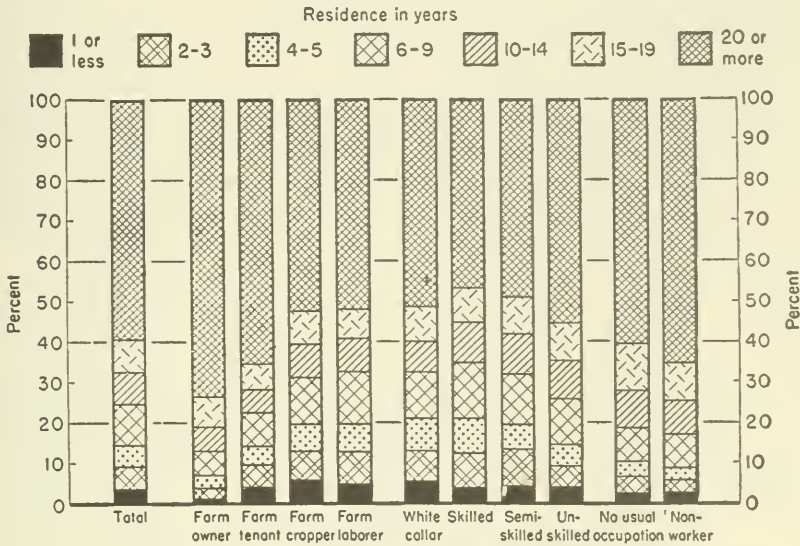


FIG. 24—LENGTH OF LAST CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN COUNTY OF HEADS OF RURAL FAMILIES RECEIVING GENERAL RELIEF, BY USUAL OCCUPATION

June 1935

AF-2815, WPA

and fewer depression migrants among Negroes than whites for both agriculture and nonagriculture (table 28). The difference was greater, however, in agriculture than in nonagriculture.

The occupational differences according to length of residence in the county in which they resided at the time of the survey also show that workers in agriculture were in general more stable than those in nonagriculture; 63.2 percent of them had lived 20 years or more in the same county in comparison with 52.9 percent in nonagriculture (fig. 24 and appendix table 29). The stability of the specific occupations within agriculture lessened with progressive steps down the scale as indicated by the proportion that had resided in the same county for 20 years or more. In contrast, stability in nonagricultural occupations increased with progression down the occupational scale with the

exception of white-collar workers. The explanation for these differences lies in the fact that the increased responsibility for property in the upper occupational levels of agriculture has a tendency to tie the family more firmly to a particular farm and to increase the interest in improving and developing one farmstead. Farm laborers, however, must necessarily move about frequently from one place to another and do not often identify themselves completely with any particular location. The reversed position of nonagricultural workers in rural areas was due to conditions of labor supply and demand in isolated districts. This was most strikingly brought out in the differences between the open country and villages. In the village there was a slight tendency for mobility to increase in the lower occupational levels although unskilled laborers were a relatively stable group. In the open country, however, the most mobile groups were the white-collar and skilled workers, and mobility decreased successively with the other occupations. This was due to the difficulty encountered by unskilled laborers in finding other work in rural environments when their original occupation was discontinued. In contrast, white-collar and skilled workers were more in demand in rural areas and had greater bargaining power and greater resources in seeking employment.⁴

In every occupational group Negroes were much more stable than whites (appendix table 30). Since Negroes in nonagricultural occupations were less stable than those in agriculture, however, the comparative differences between whites and Negroes were most marked in agriculture.

RELATION BETWEEN MOBILITY AND FAMILY TYPE

Mobility varied greatly among the rural relief families in different areas of the country and had different consequences. As pointed out above, families in some areas were much more stable than those in other areas.

So far as the usual rural migratory movements are concerned, the country may be divided into areas which roughly correspond to the length of time since their original settlement. The rural relief families in the older areas of the East and South, having been settled for generations, were less mobile than those of the North and West where the populations have lived but a comparatively brief time and have not become firmly attached to the soil. Some modifications of this principle were introduced in the Middle Atlantic and New England States where the extensive urbanization and industrialization have increased

⁴ For a more complete discussion of the difficulties encountered by skilled and unskilled industrial workers in a rural environment, see Zimmerman, Carle C. and Frampton, M. E., *Family and Society*, New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1935, ch. XVI.



Resettlement Administration (Lange).

Migratory Laborer Family.

the mobility of the population generally.⁵ Another factor in the Northeast is the relative importance of foreign immigration in the last 50 years. Thus, mobility is roughly correlated both with geographical regions and with type of agriculture, and one may say that mobility in the rural relief population increases as one moves from the East to the West and from the South to the North.

The small-scale and yet rapid migrations in the South were largely excluded by the definitions of migration which were used in this study. A well-known fact was concealed in so far as residence was considered according to county and not according to farmstead. Since it seems probable that the most important effects of migration are to be found in its social results rather than in its economic results, however, this mobility in the South was really less serious for relief families than that in other parts of the country. Thus, families in the South normally move only a few miles at any one time and probably do not often get outside the bounds of their immediate primary group relationships so that the stability of the social structure is maintained. The principal loss involved in the high rate of mobility in the South is the degeneration of property and other capital goods on the farm and, on another level, there is the psychological effect.

In contrast, mobility in the commercial and extensive agricultural areas, particularly in the Wheat and Ranching Areas, is of a type which maintains economic stability through property ownership or long-term tenantry. At the same time it allows the complete disruption of intimate social relationships, customs and traditions, and cultural values. Most of the areas west of the Mississippi have been settled in a very recent period, and families and groups have not succeeded in sinking their roots deeply into the soil. Of even more importance is the fact that this population is comparatively heterogeneous, and settlement has been an individual rather than a group affair. Migrations in this part of the country have continued to be comparatively frequent, over long distances, and by individuals and families rather than by groups and communities. Under such conditions of mobility there is a tendency, however, for the social structure to become more homogeneous over wide areas and for group loyalty to become more associated with the larger aggregates and less with the immediate and intimate primary group. Yet, since in the long run a system of stable relationships cannot be firmly built upon secondary groups, it is evident that the type of mobility in this section of the country tends to have more important social effects than that in the Cotton Areas. Thus, in the South, the immediate primary group relationships may

⁵ See, for example, Whetten, N. L. and Devereux, E. C., *Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut, I. Windsor*, Bulletin 212, Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station, Storrs, Conn., 1936.

be maintained to a greater extent and the fundamental basis of the social order may be kept relatively intact.

Mobility is, then, related to the type of rural relief families.⁶ Individualized family groups are usually associated with high rates of mobility; and the family type at the opposite extreme, in the familistic society, is associated with stability. Such mobility may be either a cause of or an effect of individualization. Yet the understanding of the direction of causation is less important than the appreciation of interdependence and of the fact that the final effects are not absolute but relative. The first effects of migration are possibly an increased family unity, and the group becomes necessarily more self-centered if it is to survive. Later, however, if this process continues and is prevalent among other families, a rapid mobility tends to break down all established social relations, including those of the family. In this manner the individualized family has set the prevailing tone of the social structure in the newly settled as well as the urbanized sections of the country. Familism is most evident in the Appalachian-Ozark Area and other areas of stability; and the Cotton Areas, with their short-distance mobile families, fall into an intermediate position. Here the family has indeed become more self-conscious and more self-centered, but the dominant familism of the social system has not been destroyed.

⁶ For a more detailed study of migration of families during the depression of the early thirties, see Webb, John N., *Migrant Families*, Research Monograph XVIII, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1938.

Chapter X

EDUCATION OF RURAL RELIEF FAMILIES

EDUCATION AS measured by the number of years of formal schooling is a valuable index of the socio-economic position of rural relief families. In general it is correct to say that there is a rough correlation between social status and the duration of schooling. This is not meant to imply any one-way relationship between the extent of a person's education and his success in life. On the average, however, persons who have the most ability, according to the standards of the culture, tend to remain in established schools the longest. This is true in comparing large numbers of cases within a particular area, but different localities are hardly comparable. Nevertheless, it is very useful to compare the number of years of education for the aggregate population in these different areas in order to gain some understanding of the comparative educational level.

EDUCATION OF HEADS BY AREA

Heads of rural relief families were on a comparatively low educational level.¹ Less than 4 percent were high school graduates and only about 35 percent had as much as a grammar school education² (appendix table 31). This means that about two out of three of these heads of families had dropped out of school some time before the eighth grade. In addition, great differences were evident between the open country and the village heads. In every area more of the village heads had completed the eighth grade, and for the country as a whole this difference was 11.1 percent. The areas which stand out as apparently providing the best educational facilities are the urbanized and commercial sections (excluding the Cotton Areas), where almost two-thirds of the heads had an eighth grade education or better. In

¹ For a comparison of the educational attainments of the heads of relief and nonrelief households, see McCormick, T. C., *Comparative Study of Rural Relief and Non-Relief Households*, Research Monograph II, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1935, p. 30 ff.

² Data on education were available for October rather than June 1935. See Introduction, p. xii.

sharp contrast were the cotton and the self-sufficing areas where very small proportions of the heads had the minimum grammar school education.³ This was true for both races in the South although Negroes were on a much lower educational level even than whites.

If the length of schooling for heads of rural relief families is expressed in terms of median school attainment, the areas retain the same relative positions but a generally more favorable impression is received. The median for all heads of rural relief families in the United States was 6.4 grades, but in the Corn Belt, Wheat, Ranching, and New England Areas this median was more than 8 grades (table 29 and fig. 25). Progressive changes in educational standards in the United States as a whole are also evident in that the median number of years of schooling was higher for each younger age period. However, since the educational level in New England has been consistently high for over a century, the change was not great in this area, and the median was more than 8 grades for each age group. In contrast, the rapid change in the Cotton South was evident, inasmuch as this median was from 4.5 to 5.7 grades for heads 45 years of age and over and from 5.8 to 8.2 grades for heads aged 16-24 years. Thus, promise is given of a future educational level in the South comparable to other sections of the country.

A low educational level is not a phenomenon peculiar to the South, but it is also prevalent in all areas of the United States where subsistence or small-scale agriculture is predominant. The median school attainment for rural relief heads of families in the Eastern Cotton and Appalachian-Ozark Areas was slightly more than 5 grades, in the Western Cotton Area 6.4 grades, and in the Hay and Dairy and Lake States Cut-Over Areas between 7 and 8 grades. In all other areas the medians were more than 8 grades. This difference was most important, however, for the older heads, and in all areas except the Eastern Cotton and Appalachian-Ozark relief heads 16-24 years of age averaged more than 8 grades.

Differences between whites and Negroes in the South are again evidenced in that the median school attainment for heads of rural relief families in the Eastern Cotton Area was 5.9 grades for the whites and 2.9 grades for the Negroes and in the Western Cotton, 6.7 grades for the whites and 5.3 grades for the Negroes. In the Western Cotton Area the great improvement in education in recent years appeared in the case of the Negro heads whose educational level had been brought up more nearly equal to that of the whites (table 29).

³ Comparison of education in the South and other areas according to years of schooling is made difficult by the fact that in many Southern States a high school education is completed in 11 years and a grade school education in 7 years. Yet this practice is not uniform throughout the South so that no standard can be set for the region as a whole.



Works Progress Administration.

Teaching Aunt Nancy To Read.

Table 29.—Average ¹ School Grade Completed by Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence, Area, and Age, October 1935[138 counties and 83 New England townships ²]

Residence and area	Average grade completed, by age				
	Total ³	16-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45 years and over
TOTAL RURAL					
All areas.....	6.4	7.8	7.4	6.4	5.5
Eastern Cotton.....	5.2	5.8	5.9	5.3	4.5
White.....	5.9	6.7	6.6	6.1	5.2
Negro.....	2.9	4.9	3.5	3.0	1.9
Western Cotton.....	6.4	8.2	7.0	6.3	5.7
White.....	6.7	8.3	7.1	6.5	6.1
Negro.....	5.3	6.9	5.9	5.2	4.5
Appalachian-Ozark.....	5.3	6.5	6.0	5.3	4.5
Lake States Cut-Over.....	7.3	8.4	8.4	7.2	5.4
Hay and Dairy.....	7.9	8.6	8.3	8.0	6.9
Corn Belt.....	8.2	8.7	8.5	8.2	7.1
Spring Wheat.....	8.1	8.3	8.3	7.9	8.1
Winter Wheat.....	8.2	8.7	8.3	7.9	8.1
Ranching.....	8.4	9.4	8.7	8.3	8.2
New England.....	8.3	8.5	8.5	8.3	8.2
OPEN COUNTRY					
All areas ⁴	6.1	7.2	7.0	6.2	5.1
Eastern Cotton.....	5.1	5.8	5.7	5.1	4.4
White.....	5.6	6.4	6.3	5.8	4.8
Negro.....	2.8	4.8	2.4	3.1	2.0
Western Cotton.....	6.4	8.1	7.0	6.3	5.6
White.....	6.7	8.2	7.1	6.5	5.9
Negro.....	5.4	6.8	6.5	5.5	4.4
Appalachian-Ozark.....	5.1	6.1	5.8	5.2	4.2
Lake States Cut-Over.....	7.2	8.4	8.2	7.4	5.3
Hay and Dairy.....	7.8	8.4	8.2	8.0	6.8
Corn Belt.....	8.0	8.5	8.5	7.7	5.9
Spring Wheat.....	8.1	8.3	8.2	7.3	8.1
Winter Wheat.....	8.1	8.6	8.3	7.3	8.0
Ranching.....	8.0	8.0	8.3	7.2	7.3
VILLAGE					
All areas ⁴	6.9	8.3	8.1	6.7	6.1
Eastern Cotton.....	5.6	5.9	6.6	5.8	4.8
White.....	7.2	7.0	7.4	6.9	7.2
Negro.....	3.1	4.9	5.2	2.6	1.8
Western Cotton.....	6.4	8.4	6.7	6.4	6.1
White.....	6.8	8.4	7.2	7.0	6.5
Negro.....	5.1	†	5.3	4.6	4.8
Appalachian-Ozark.....	5.7	7.7	6.3	5.4	5.0
Lake States Cut-Over.....	7.5	8.3	8.6	6.8	5.6
Hay and Dairy.....	8.0	8.9	8.5	8.0	7.0
Corn Belt.....	8.3	8.8	8.6	8.3	7.9
Spring Wheat.....	8.2	8.4	8.5	8.2	7.7
Winter Wheat.....	8.3	8.7	8.3	8.0	8.3
Ranching.....	8.6	9.6	9.0	8.5	8.3

† Median not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases.

¹ Median.² Townships in Connecticut and Massachusetts only.³ Exclusive of heads of families whose school attainment was unknown.⁴ Exclusive of New England.

Although the education of heads of families 16-24 years of age was on a higher level than that of any older group of family heads, there is still much which should be done. Among the families studied, less than 9 percent of the youthful heads were high school graduates and more than two out of five were not even grammar school graduates (appendix table 32). For the country as a whole 42.1 percent of these heads in the open country and 58.0 percent in the villages had at least

8 grades to their credit. Relatively small as these proportions may seem, it is encouraging to note that these proportions are much higher than in the case of all heads of families (appendix table 31). In every area the proportion of grammar and high school graduates was considerably higher for heads 16-24 years of age than for all heads.

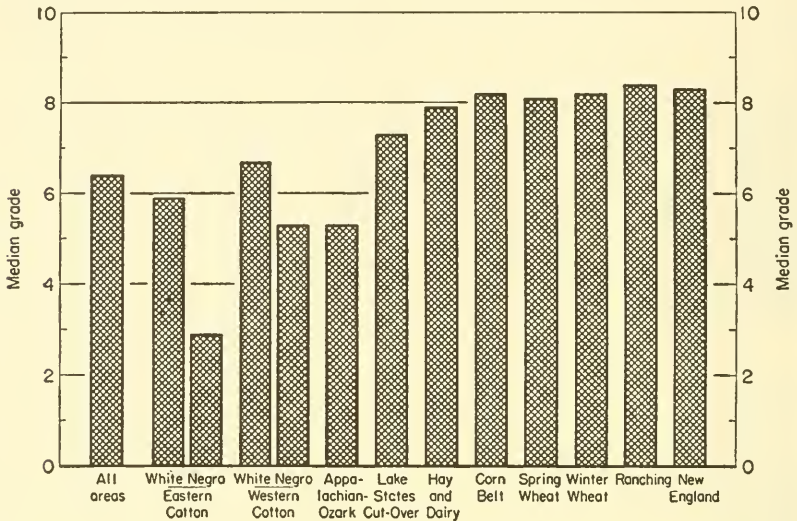


FIG. 25-MEDIAN SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED BY HEADS OF RURAL FAMILIES RECEIVING GENERAL RELIEF, BY AREA

October 1935

AF-2818, WPA

EDUCATION OF HEADS BY OCCUPATION

The fact that education and social status are roughly correlated can be demonstrated best by the proportion in each occupational group that had completed an eighth grade or a high school education. The proportion of high school graduates among heads of rural relief families was about 2 percent for agricultural workers and almost 7 percent for nonagricultural workers (table 30). In addition, there was a rough stratification within these broad occupational groups.

For the country as a whole education was positively correlated with occupational level within agriculture with the exception of farm laborers. For the last group there were almost as many high school graduates proportionately as in the case of owners, and there were in fact more grammar school graduates. Percentages for owners were apparently unduly weighted in a downward direction by a group with but little education. An example of this is the fact that there were more owners with no formal schooling than was the case among either tenants or farm laborers. The higher school attainment of farm laborers was also due to their lower average age as more of them

Table 30.—School Attainment of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Usual Occupation,¹ October 1935

[300 counties and 83 New England townships²]

Usual occupation	Total ³		Last grade or year completed												Grad- uate work		
	Number	Percent	Grade and high school														
			None	1-3	4-5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2		3	4
Total	78,886	100.0	7.7	12.8	20.1	10.6	9.5	26.1	4.1	3.3	1.7	2.9	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.2	*
Agriculture	40,014	100.0	8.7	14.9	22.8	10.6	9.6	24.5	3.2	2.5	1.0	1.6	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	—
Farm operator	27,244	100.0	8.8	15.0	23.5	10.9	9.6	24.7	2.7	2.1	0.7	1.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	—
Owner	9,472	100.0	8.8	13.6	22.8	10.1	9.5	25.9	2.7	2.9	0.9	1.7	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.2	—
Tenant	12,820	100.0	7.4	12.9	21.8	11.3	10.1	29.3	2.9	1.9	0.8	1.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	—
Cropper ⁴	4,952	100.0	12.5	22.9	29.1	11.6	8.2	11.3	2.1	1.1	0.4	0.6	0.1	—	—	—	—
Farm laborer	12,770	100.0	8.4	14.8	21.2	9.9	9.6	24.5	4.1	3.4	1.4	2.4	0.1	0.1	—	0.1	—
Nonagriculture	31,766	100.0	6.0	10.4	16.5	10.6	9.8	28.4	4.9	4.3	2.4	4.6	0.6	0.8	0.2	0.4	0.1
White collar	2,772	100.0	1.1	2.8	5.2	3.2	5.3	28.3	6.7	5.9	8.4	16.1	5.0	5.6	1.4	4.1	0.9
Skilled	4,746	100.0	2.4	4.4	12.1	10.2	11.3	37.2	6.4	5.6	2.4	6.2	0.2	1.3	0.3	—	—
Semiskilled	4,894	100.0	3.7	7.5	13.9	11.4	10.8	32.9	5.5	5.4	2.9	4.5	0.5	0.7	—	—	—
Unskilled	19,354	100.0	8.2	13.7	19.9	11.5	9.7	25.2	4.1	3.4	1.4	2.5	0.2	0.1	—	—	—
No usual occupation	2,108	100.0	3.9	6.9	20.1	8.6	9.3	25.8	9.1	3.0	4.3	5.3	1.2	1.0	0.1	0.4	—
Nonworker	4,998	100.0	11.6	13.2	21.6	12.1	8.0	22.6	3.6	3.3	1.4	1.9	0.1	0.4	—	0.2	—

* Less than 0.05 percent.

¹ Data by usual occupation and school attainment were not available for the area sample used elsewhere in this analysis. Hence, a larger State sample, taken under the same conditions, was utilized. For a description of the State sample see Mangus, A. R., *Changing Aspects of Rural Relief*, Research Monograph XIV, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1938, appendix B.

² Townships in Connecticut and Massachusetts only.

³ Exclusive of heads of families whose school attainment was unknown

⁴ In the 2 Cotton Areas.

have been affected by the increased educational facilities of recent years.

In the case of nonagricultural workers there was a well-marked hierarchy which correlated education and relative socio-economic status. The trend from low education to high education clearly followed the lines from unskilled to semiskilled, to skilled, and to white-collar workers. Here the differences were much more exaggerated than in the case of agricultural workers, and the proportions of high school graduates ranged from 33.1 percent for white-collar workers to 2.9 percent for unskilled workers. White-collar workers as a class were very clearly separated from the rest of the occupations, and all of the nonagricultural occupations were seen to be on a higher educational level than those in agriculture. Unskilled workers, who were on the lowest level among the nonagricultural occupations, were on approximately the same level as the highest group in agriculture.

The educational level of the heads who either were nonworkers or had no usual occupations was also fairly high, inasmuch as from one-third to one-half of them had a grammar school education. This compared favorably with agricultural workers and with workers in the lower levels of nonagricultural occupations.

EDUCATION OF MEMBERS OTHER THAN HEADS

The average school attainment for family members, other than heads, 16 years of age and over was more than eight grades in each area except the Cotton and Appalachian-Ozark Areas (table 31). In contrasting the median number of years of schooling for members falling within the various age groups, it was evident again that educational standards have been raised considerably within the last generation. Because of the longer period of school attendance, youth 16-24 years of age had completed nine grades or more on the average in the Corn Belt, Winter Wheat, Ranching, and New England Areas. Most of the rapid recent improvement in education has taken place in the South, as evidenced by the fact that the average school attainment even for those 45 years of age and over was 8 grades in the New England, Spring Wheat, and Ranching Areas. That the Southern States differ among themselves in educational standards is shown by the fact that the median school attainment for other family members was 7.6 grades in the Western Cotton Area but only 5.8 grades in the Eastern Cotton Area.

Schools in many areas today have relatively high standards and long periods of continuous attendance. This is particularly true in the villages where the average school attainment was almost nine grades in six of the agricultural areas studied. In contrast, the lowest average for any group among the sample families was found in the open country in the Eastern Cotton Area where the median school attainment for persons 45 years of age and over was but 3.7 grades.

Table 31.—Average ¹ School Grade Completed by Persons 16 Years of Age and Over, Other Than Heads, in Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence, Area, and Age, October 1935

[138 counties and 83 New England townships ²]

Residence and area	Average grade completed, by age				
	Total ³	16-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45 years and over
TOTAL RURAL					
All areas.....	7.6	8.2	7.4	6.7	5.8
Eastern Cotton.....	5.8	6.4	5.8	5.6	4.4
White.....	6.6	7.3	6.3	6.3	5.5
Negro.....	3.2	3.6	3.9	3.1	1.0
Western Cotton.....	7.6	8.2	7.4	7.0	6.0
White.....	7.8	8.4	7.6	7.2	6.6
Negro.....	6.6	7.2	6.7	5.5	4.6
Appalachian-Ozark.....	6.3	7.3	6.2	5.4	4.7
Lake States Cut-Over.....	8.4	8.7	8.4	7.0	5.6
Hay and Dairy.....	8.4	8.8	8.4	8.0	7.1
Corn Belt.....	8.6	9.0	8.6	8.4	7.5
Spring Wheat.....	8.4	8.6	8.3	8.1	8.1
Winter Wheat.....	8.5	9.2	8.5	8.2	7.7
Ranching.....	8.8	9.3	8.8	8.6	8.3
New England.....	8.6	9.0	8.7	8.4	8.2
OPEN COUNTRY					
All areas ⁴	7.1	8.0	7.0	6.2	5.4
Eastern Cotton.....	5.5	5.9	5.6	5.3	3.7
White.....	6.3	6.9	6.1	5.9	4.6
Negro.....	2.7	3.0	3.4	1.4	1.4
Western Cotton.....	7.6	8.2	7.4	6.9	6.0
White.....	7.8	8.3	7.5	7.0	6.6
Negro.....	6.7	7.3	6.7	6.0	4.8
Appalachian-Ozark.....	6.0	6.9	6.0	5.1	4.4
Lake States Cut-Over.....	8.3	8.6	8.2	6.7	5.1
Hay and Dairy.....	8.3	8.7	8.3	7.7	6.7
Corn Belt.....	8.5	8.8	8.6	8.3	7.2
Spring Wheat.....	8.4	8.5	8.3	8.1	8.3
Winter Wheat.....	8.5	9.1	8.5	8.1	7.6
Ranching.....	8.5	8.6	8.5	8.4	8.1
VILLAGE					
All areas ⁴	8.1	8.6	8.1	7.6	6.3
Eastern Cotton.....	6.8	7.7	6.4	6.7	5.6
White.....	8.1	8.7	7.4	8.3	6.9
Negro.....	4.4	4.8	4.7	5.3	0.8
Western Cotton.....	7.7	8.3	7.7	7.3	5.8
White.....	7.9	8.5	7.9	7.5	6.7
Negro.....	6.2	6.9	†	†	4.0
Appalachian-Ozark.....	6.9	8.1	6.7	6.1	5.2
Lake States Cut-Over.....	8.7	9.6	8.8	8.2	7.0
Hay and Dairy.....	8.5	9.2	8.5	8.2	7.8
Corn Belt.....	8.6	9.5	8.6	8.4	7.6
Spring Wheat.....	8.5	8.9	8.5	8.0	6.9
Winter Wheat.....	8.6	9.4	8.7	8.5	7.9
Ranching.....	9.0	9.9	8.9	8.8	8.3

† Median not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases.

¹ Median.

² Townships in Connecticut and Massachusetts only.

³ Exclusive of members of families whose school attainment was unknown.

⁴ Exclusive of New England.

In the South the low standards of education for Negroes dragged down the average for all families (table 31). The greatest difference between Negroes and whites appeared in the Eastern Cotton Area where the median for Negroes was less than four grades at each age up to 45 years and only one grade for family members of that age and over. In the Western Cotton Area the difference between whites and Negroes was only one grade for the two age groups under 35 years and two grades in the age groups 35 years and over. Thus, the

improvement in education in recent years in the South was reflected in the school attainments of Negro family members.

In addition the education of many youth in rural relief families was not complete since they were still attending school at the time of the survey. Indeed two-fifths of the number aged 16 and 17 years, other than heads, were still in school as were one-tenth of those 18-20 years of age (table 32).

Table 32.—School Attendance of Youth 16 Through 24 Years of Age, Other Than Heads, in Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence and Area, October 1935

[138 counties and 83 New England townships ¹]

Residence and area	Total				16-17 years			18-20 years			21-24 years		
	Number	Percent	In school	Not in school	Total	In school	Not in school	Total	In school	Not in school	Total	In school	Not in school
TOTAL RURAL													
All areas.....	25,244	100.0	17.0	83.0	100.0	41.4	58.6	100.0	9.7	90.3	100.0	0.9	99.1
Eastern Cotton.....	2,364	100.0	15.1	84.9	100.0	34.6	65.4	100.0	10.0	90.0	100.0	1.6	98.4
Western Cotton.....	2,758	100.0	20.4	79.6	100.0	46.3	53.7	100.0	13.2	86.8	100.0	—	100.0
Appalachian-Ozark.....	9,934	100.0	12.8	87.2	100.0	31.2	68.8	100.0	7.1	92.9	100.0	1.1	98.9
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,632	100.0	17.6	82.4	100.0	48.3	51.7	100.0	8.6	91.4	100.0	0.4	99.6
Hay and Dairy.....	2,858	100.0	20.8	79.2	100.0	55.6	44.4	100.0	9.7	90.3	100.0	0.4	99.6
Corn Belt.....	1,492	100.0	22.0	78.0	100.0	53.2	46.8	100.0	14.2	85.8	100.0	0.8	99.2
Spring Wheat.....	1,470	100.0	14.8	85.2	100.0	32.1	67.9	100.0	12.3	87.7	100.0	1.7	98.3
Winter Wheat.....	492	100.0	33.3	66.7	100.0	69.8	30.2	100.0	21.1	78.9	100.0	4.3	95.7
Ranching.....	568	100.0	31.7	68.3	100.0	67.6	32.4	100.0	15.6	84.4	100.0	—	100.0
New England.....	1,676	100.0	19.5	80.5	100.0	51.7	48.3	100.0	8.0	92.0	100.0	—	100.0
OPEN COUNTRY													
All areas ²	15,208	100.0	13.8	86.2	100.0	33.7	66.3	100.0	7.7	92.3	100.0	0.8	99.2
Eastern Cotton.....	1,756	100.0	11.5	88.5	100.0	26.8	73.2	100.0	6.7	93.3	100.0	1.8	98.2
Western Cotton.....	1,974	100.0	18.9	81.1	100.0	44.0	56.0	100.0	11.9	88.1	100.0	—	100.0
Appalachian-Ozark.....	6,514	100.0	10.6	89.4	100.0	25.4	74.6	100.0	6.0	94.0	100.0	0.8	99.2
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,194	100.0	17.8	82.2	100.0	47.8	52.2	100.0	7.1	92.9	100.0	0.5	99.5
Hay and Dairy.....	1,650	100.0	16.4	83.6	100.0	47.1	52.9	100.0	6.9	93.1	100.0	0.7	99.3
Corn Belt.....	584	100.0	16.8	83.2	100.0	41.4	58.6	100.0	9.2	90.8	100.0	—	100.0
Spring Wheat.....	1,024	100.0	8.0	92.0	100.0	19.3	80.7	100.0	6.4	93.6	100.0	0.6	99.4
Winter Wheat.....	316	100.0	33.5	66.5	100.0	66.7	33.3	100.0	19.6	80.4	100.0	4.8	95.2
Ranching.....	196	100.0	31.6	68.4	100.0	52.3	47.7	100.0	23.5	76.5	100.0	—	100.0
VILLAGE													
All areas ²	8,360	100.0	22.4	77.6	100.0	53.6	46.4	100.0	13.7	86.3	100.0	1.3	98.7
Eastern Cotton.....	608	100.0	25.7	74.3	100.0	56.7	43.3	100.0	19.5	80.5	100.0	1.1	98.9
Western Cotton.....	784	100.0	24.2	75.8	100.0	51.8	48.2	100.0	16.3	83.7	100.0	—	100.0
Appalachian-Ozark.....	3,420	100.0	17.4	82.6	100.0	42.6	57.4	100.0	9.2	90.8	100.0	1.7	98.3
Lake States Cut-Over.....	438	100.0	17.4	82.6	100.0	50.0	50.0	100.0	12.8	87.2	100.0	—	100.0
Hay and Dairy.....	1,208	100.0	26.8	73.2	100.0	55.7	44.3	100.0	13.5	86.5	100.0	—	100.0
Corn Belt.....	908	100.0	25.3	74.7	100.0	61.9	38.1	100.0	16.7	83.3	100.0	1.4	98.6
Spring Wheat.....	446	100.0	30.6	69.5	100.0	56.6	43.4	100.0	24.7	75.3	100.0	5.2	94.8
Winter Wheat.....	176	100.0	33.0	67.0	100.0	76.9	23.1	100.0	23.5	76.5	100.0	3.6	96.4
Ranching.....	372	100.0	31.7	68.3	100.0	77.6	22.4	100.0	11.3	88.7	100.0	—	100.0

¹ Townships in Connecticut and Massachusetts only.

² Exclusive of New England.

Contrasts among areas again appeared, and youth in relief families remained in school most often in the Winter Wheat and Ranching Areas and least often in the Spring Wheat, Appalachian-Ozark, and Eastern Cotton Areas. Opportunities for work in the country, as well as more restricted educational opportunities, were apparent in the fact that youth in the open country were less likely to remain in



Works Progress Administration.

Relief Children Go to School.

school than were village youth. In general, however, there was a tendency for rural relief youth to drop out of school rapidly after the age of 16 years, and less than 1 percent of those aged 21-24 years were still in school.

The situation of children 7 through 15 years of age was similar to that of youth, and the proportions in school were lowest in the southern areas and highest in the New England, northern, and western areas (appendix table 33). A small number had dropped out of school at each age until 12.7 percent of those 14 and 15 years old were not in school.

SIGNIFICANCE OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Education among rural relief families was correlated directly with relative social status. This held true for occupational classes within the country as a whole and within each area, and also in comparing one area with another. The principle seems valid that the higher the proportion of nonagricultural occupations the higher is the number of years of formal schooling. In the South the great majority of the population is still in agriculture so the educational level of relief families is low in comparison with the areas which are more industrialized and urbanized. This does not necessarily mean that individuals in the South are less prepared to live successfully within the social order since less formal education is demanded by agriculture and since there is frequently more informal education within the family group among farm families. Nevertheless, as the South becomes increasingly industrialized and as its workers wish to compete with those in other areas, the necessity for higher educational standards will be obvious. In the other areas the average education appears more nearly satisfactory for workers of this level, and the greatest improvement can come in these regions through bringing a higher proportion of the population up to this standard and through raising the quality of this training.

Needless to say, most heads of rural relief families are not illiterate but have had some formal schooling. In general the claim that illiteracy is an all-important factor in relief does not seem to hold. Rural relief families may not have had a great amount of education but in general formal schooling is only one of the various factors necessary to explain relief needs.

Appendixes

Appendix A

MEANING OF TERMS

SINCE MANY of the terms in this study are used not only as the rigid definitions necessary for schedule enumeration but also in their broader significance, a brief discussion of terminology is necessary. Additional terms have been defined as they occurred in the text.

The most important term is naturally the word *family*. Historically it was a Roman law term which denoted the community of producers and consumers in a household, including slaves and other servants as well as members connected by common descent or marriage. The original use of the term family was developed for households which were largely self-sufficing. Other definitions have emphasized the biological or the social aspects of the family, such as blood relationships or status-determining roles. Family is also used in modern times for a unit which has a legal and economic basis.¹ According to any of these bases the family may be larger than the household, or it may exclude certain persons within the household. This present study is primarily socio-economic, and the household is used as the closest general statistical approximation to the family.² By household is meant essentially those persons dependent upon the same family budget. In general the members of the household are biologically related to each other.³

¹ See Zimmerman, Carle C. and Frampton, Merle E., *Family and Society*, New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1935, ch. II.

² For a more restricted use of the word *family* with respect to relief data, see Mangus, A. R., *Changing Aspects of Rural Relief*, Research Monograph XIV, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1938, appendix C.

³ The actual definition used in the study was as follows: "*Relief Case*: A relief case consists of one or more related or unrelated persons who *live together* and who *receive assistance* as one unit and are considered as one case by the agency giving the assistance. If two or more families (or nonfamily persons or a combination of families and nonfamily persons) in a household are handled as separate cases, each is a separate case for the purpose of this survey." Form DRS 110-B, Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C., 1935, p. 4.

The concept *family head* is a socio-legal term based upon privileges and obligations within the family. American law does not emphasize the family head since the legal rights of family members are stated in terms of relations and of individual interests (domestic relations, husband and wife, parent and child). But ordinarily, for economic and social purposes, a family head has the responsibility of providing for the family or seeing that such provision is made. In the normal family of husband, wife, and children, the husband is considered the head. In the broken family consisting of mother and children or father and children, either the mother or the father tends automatically to become the head. In the case where a man or a woman lives with his or her child and the child's husband or wife, with or without others, such as grandchildren and outsiders, the tendency is for the son or son-in-law to become head of the family, chiefly on account of the senility of the other persons. In most cases the family head is determined by the informal organization of the family.⁴

⁴ In the statistical study reported here the instructions concerning family head were: "If the household consists of only one family, the head of that family is the head of the household. If the household consists of two or more families, consider the oldest family head as head of the household, unless he or she is 65 years old or over. In such a case consider as head of the household the oldest family head who is less than 65 years old. In determining which member is to be designated as head of a family, proceed as follows: In cases of married couples, with or without children, designate the husband-father as head, except when he is over 64 years of age and is living with a son or daughter between the ages of 21 and 64 who is working or seeking work and who is not a member of another family group in the household. In such a case enter that son or daughter as head. In the case of a widowed, divorced, separated, or single person with children designate the parent as head, except when he or she is over 64 years of age and is living with a son or daughter between the ages of 21 and 64 who is working or seeking work and who is not a member of another family group in the household. In such a case enter that son or daughter as head.

"In cases of households consisting only of single and/or widowed, divorced, or separated persons, without children, designate the person with the largest earnings or property rights as head. In cases in which a male and female are equally eligible to be considered as head of a family give preference to the male. If two or more persons of the same sex are equally eligible to be considered as head of a family give preference to the oldest. No schedule should be filled for only one person under 16 years of age. If such a person is living with adults who are not his parents and if he is the only member of the household who is receiving relief, the members of the family with whom he is living should be entered on the schedule also.

"All members of the head's immediate family and all non-family persons should be shown in their relationship to the head. When a second or third group in the relief case constitutes a *family unit*, the head of the relief case must be designated head (1) and the heads of the other families as head (2), head (3), etc., showing also their relationship to head (1). The relationship of the other members of the second family must be shown to head (2), other members of the third family to head (3), etc. * * *." *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20.

The term *relief*, as used in this study, means grants by public and semipublic agencies.⁵ Relief generally means an economic consideration given to a needy person without regard to an economic *quid pro quo* or return. In the depression of the last few years the Federal Government has given two types of general relief, *work relief* and *direct relief*. Work relief has usually been given for services of some public nature similar to those widespread under the Civil Works Administration of 1933 and under the Works Program of 1935 and later years. In this case a *quid pro quo* or return of some kind or other was secured by the public or community for the relief given. In some cases work relief has included a situation in which men have been hired to work for themselves, as, for example, in the planting of their own gardens or the building of sanitary conveniences on property which they own or on which they live. It generally is assumed that

⁵ The exact definition is as follows: "*Relief*: The type of relief received to render a case eligible for inclusion in the study may be one or both of the following:

1. Any form of material relief supported wholly or in part by FERA funds.
2. Unemployment relief in any material form provided it is supported wholly or in part by *public* relief funds, i. e., Federal, State, county, or municipal funds designated for the purpose of giving unemployment relief.

These may include:

(a) 'Direct' relief: Material relief in the form of: cash, orders for food, clothing, fuel, household necessities, rent, medical care given in the client's home or in a doctor's office (but *not* medical care given in a clinic or hospital), transportation, moving expenses, etc.—for which the client is not required to work for the benefits received.

(b) 'Work' relief: Temporary emergency employment through ERA, generally on some specified project undertaken by the municipal, county, State, or Federal Government (or several of these in cooperation).

"In some areas a person working on a particular work relief project may be paid according to a stipulated wage scale, but only up to the limit of the relief agency's budgetary allowance for his type of case. In other places, a person receiving so-called 'direct' relief is required to do a certain amount of work, under direction of the relief agency, in order to be entitled to his budgetary allowance, but which work is not (generally) on a definite work relief project, and for which no wage scale is set. This or any other form of relief given under the requirements that some work be done should be considered 'work' relief, unless it is reported as direct relief to the State ERA.

Do not include:

1. Cases which received *only* services from the relief agency but which received no material aid.
2. Cases which received *only* surplus commodities.
3. Cases receiving Mothers' Pension or other forms of regular assistance which are *not* reported to the State Emergency Relief Administration.
4. Transient cases—interstate and intrastate transient cases do not fall within the scope of this survey.
5. Cases which received only emergency orders pending investigation of their applications for relief *if the application was rejected*. However, if the case was accepted for relief, the date of the emergency order is to be considered the date of first relief." *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

these private types of work relief have a public purpose or will help to bring about the permanent rehabilitation of the family. Direct relief is made in the form of gifts to dependent families with regard to their needs but without expectation of visible return. The legal basis of such gifts lies in the concept of "status"⁶ in which it is held that a member of society, no matter how unfortunate he may be, has inherited the right at least to sustenance and to the necessities of life.

The concept *rehabilitation* is related closely to some forms of work relief. A special rural rehabilitation program⁷ was established in April 1934 under the direction of the State emergency relief administrations to assist rural relief families⁸ to become self-sustaining. Rehabilitation differs from relief to the extent that many of the rehabilitation grants are made in terms of capital goods. Relief itself is ordinarily made in money or consumers' goods. The assumption back of rehabilitation is that the provision of capital goods, such as a cow, a horse, a plow, a season's rental on a piece of land, or the adjustment of previous debts, will enable a family to produce sufficiently so that it will have not only consumers' goods for the present but can also in time accumulate further capital goods in order to regain complete self-support. Beneficiaries have been expected to make repayments in cash, in kind, or in work on approved work projects for all advances received.⁹ The rural rehabilitation program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was terminated on June 30, 1935, and rural rehabilitation cases became the responsibility of the Resettlement Administration.¹⁰ Since September 1937 they have been under the care of the Farm Security Administration.

For purposes of the schedule enumeration it was necessary to define clearly the relief status of the family at the time of the survey. A family accepted on relief rolls during the month of the survey which had never before received relief from the agency accepting it was designated as a new or *opened* case. A family which had been given relief at some time previously and which was again accepted for relief by

⁶ Status is a concept in law used to define rights which cannot be alienated as can most of the obligations of contract.

⁷ Division of Research, Statistics, and Records, *Monthly Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, June 1 Through June 30, 1936*, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C., p. 13.

⁸ For a statement concerning rehabilitation families, see Asch, Berta and Mangus, A. R., *Farmers on Relief and Rehabilitation*, Research Monograph VIII, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1937, ch. II.

⁹ Division of Research, Statistics, and Records, *Monthly Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, May 1 Through May 31, 1934*, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C., pp. 6-8.

¹⁰ Division of Research, Statistics, and Records, *Monthly Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, August 1 Through August 31, 1935*, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C., p. 14.

the same agency after having received no relief for at least 1 full calendar month or after having lost Works Progress Administration employment or Resettlement status was designated as a *reopened* case. A case to which an agency had ceased giving relief from Federal Emergency Relief Administration funds, whether or not the family continued to receive aid from some other Government agency, was considered a *closed* case.

The data included in this study are restricted to the rural population receiving relief. The *rural* population is defined according to the United States Census as persons living on a farm, in the open country but not on a farm, or in a village with less than 2,500 population. A *farm* is defined as having at least 3 acres of land or a productivity valued at \$250 or more if it is less than 3 acres in size.¹¹ *Open country nonfarm* is generally taken to mean residence in an unincorporated region. In this study it includes all nonagricultural families living outside of communities with a population of 50 or more. Conversely, a *village* is defined as a center of population containing 50 to 2,500 persons. Since a community has been defined in terms of house aggregation and density of population on the land, it excludes townships as municipal corporations and other definitions sometimes used for community. In New England townships under the name of "towns" are considered minor public municipal corporations and seldom is there any other type of municipal corporation except a large aggregate known as a city. Since all New England towns are considered incorporated, there is no such thing as a resident who is not in an incorporated region. Consequently, it is difficult, and to a large extent of little value, to attempt to classify New England families as to whether they do or do not reside in villages.

¹¹ "A 'farm' for census purposes is all the land which is directly farmed by one person, either by his labor alone or with the assistance of members of his household or hired employees. The land operated by a partnership is likewise considered a farm. A 'farm' may consist of a single tract of land or of a number of separate tracts, and these several tracts may be held under different tenures, as when one tract is owned by the farmer and another tract is rented by him. When a landowner has one or more tenants, renters, croppers, or managers, the land operated by each is considered a farm. Thus, on a plantation the land operated by each cropper or tenant was reported as a separate farm, and the land operated by the owner or manager by means of wage hands, likewise, was reported as a separate farm. The enumerators were instructed not to report as a farm any tract of land of less than 3 acres, unless its agricultural products in 1929 were valued at \$250 or more." Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., 1933, p. 497.

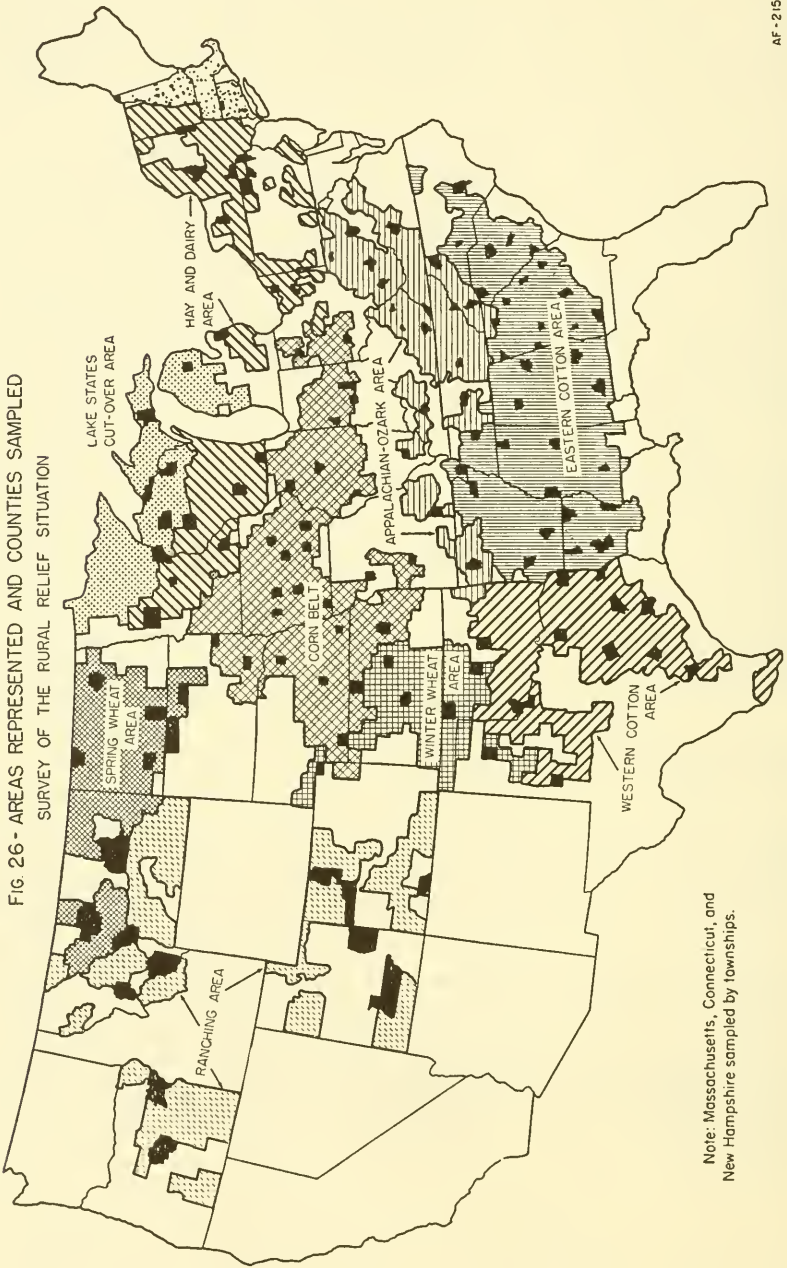


FIG 26 - AREAS REPRESENTED AND COUNTIES SAMPLED
SURVEY OF THE RURAL RELIEF SITUATION

Note: Massachusetts, Connecticut, and
New Hampshire sampled by townships.

Appendix B

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table 1.—Intensity of General Relief ¹ in the United States, by Residence, July 1933 Through December 1935 (Estimated)

Year and month	Percent of population on relief			Year and month	Percent of population on relief		
	Total	Rural	Urban		Total	Rural	Urban
1933				1934—Continued			
July.....	13.1	10.1	15.2	November.....	16.1	14.0	17.6
August.....	12.6	10.2	14.3	December.....	17.0	14.8	18.5
September.....	11.4	8.1	13.8				
October.....	11.5	8.9	13.4	1935			
November.....	12.8	10.6	14.4	January.....	17.6	15.6	19.1
December.....	10.3	8.0	11.9	February.....	17.5	15.2	19.2
1934				March.....	17.3	14.8	19.1
January.....	9.8	9.3	10.2	April.....	16.8	14.1	18.7
February.....	10.3	9.8	10.7	May.....	16.2	13.2	18.4
March.....	12.0	11.3	12.6	June.....	15.2	11.4	17.9
April.....	14.6	10.5	17.5	July.....	14.6	10.3	17.7
May.....	14.5	11.6	16.6	August.....	14.1	9.1	17.7
June.....	14.2	12.2	15.7	September.....	13.0	8.3	16.5
July.....	14.6	12.8	15.8	October.....	12.4	7.9	15.7
August.....	15.3	14.1	16.1	November.....	11.6	6.8	15.0
September.....	15.4	13.8	16.6	December.....	8.7	3.2	12.7
October.....	15.5	13.3	17.1				

¹ Percentage ratio of total estimated number of cases to all families of the same residence class.

Sources: Smith, Mapheus and Mangus, A. R., *Cases Receiving General Relief in Urban and Rural Areas, July 1933-December 1935 (Estimated)*, Research Bulletin Series III, No. 1, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., August 22, 1936; and Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, Population Vol. II, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., 1933.

Table 2.—Incidence of General Relief in Rural Areas, October 1933 Through October 1935

[138 counties]

Area	Rural relief cases per 100 rural families				
	October 1933 ¹	October 1934 ²	February 1935	June 1935	October 1935
All areas.....	9.0	13.7	15.2	10.5	7.9
Eastern Cotton.....	12.4	11.3	8.5	5.7	3.3
Western Cotton.....	6.1	21.2	24.9	11.0	8.4
Appalachian-Ozark.....	16.5	18.5	19.8	19.6	19.7
Lake States Cut-Over.....	18.6	32.1	38.9	31.7	26.3
Hay and Dairy.....	5.1	8.1	11.5	7.6	5.7
Corn Belt.....	2.8	8.7	12.0	7.7	3.2
Spring Wheat.....	9.8	32.4	33.5	22.9	14.2
Winter Wheat.....	12.0	16.4	16.8	10.6	7.0
Ranching.....	6.8	13.0	16.5	12.3	7.1

¹ Computed from data in *Unemployment Relief Census, October 1933*, Report No. 2, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C., 1934, table 9.

² Data from Survey of the Rural Relief Situation, October 1934, Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C.

Table 3.—Age of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence and Area, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total ¹		Age in years					
	Number	Percent	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over
TOTAL RURAL.								
All areas.....	62,777	100.0	7.7	23.1	22.8	21.2	15.3	9.9
Eastern Cotton.....	7,730	100.0	7.4	22.5	21.9	20.6	16.4	11.2
Western Cotton.....	7,266	100.0	9.6	25.1	21.2	17.9	12.4	13.8
Appalachian-Ozark.....	17,016	100.0	9.1	24.4	23.3	21.6	15.3	6.3
Lake States Cut-Over.....	3,776	100.0	6.6	22.3	20.9	21.5	15.8	12.9
Hay and Dairy.....	8,626	100.0	6.2	20.4	23.5	23.2	14.9	11.8
Corn Belt.....	7,512	100.0	6.3	22.7	23.2	21.7	16.6	9.5
Spring Wheat.....	3,374	100.0	6.6	30.2	24.8	19.7	13.3	5.4
Winter Wheat.....	1,288	100.0	9.8	29.7	23.3	18.9	12.1	6.2
Ranching.....	1,886	100.0	7.3	21.3	22.6	17.7	17.2	13.9
New England.....	4,303	100.0	5.9	16.0	23.0	24.3	18.5	12.3
OPEN COUNTRY								
All areas ²	35,768	100.0	8.0	24.8	23.3	20.5	14.6	8.8
Eastern Cotton.....	5,002	100.0	7.4	22.9	21.0	18.9	16.9	12.9
Western Cotton.....	4,684	100.0	9.6	27.1	20.8	17.2	12.1	13.2
Appalachian-Ozark.....	12,066	100.0	9.3	25.9	24.0	20.7	14.8	5.3
Lake States Cut-Over.....	2,480	100.0	5.9	21.4	22.3	22.7	15.8	11.9
Hay and Dairy.....	5,028	100.0	6.4	20.7	25.0	23.2	14.4	10.3
Corn Belt.....	2,802	100.0	7.1	23.6	24.0	22.9	14.3	8.1
Spring Wheat.....	2,386	100.0	6.0	32.3	25.2	19.9	13.3	3.3
Winter Wheat.....	670	100.0	10.7	32.8	25.1	17.6	9.6	4.2
Ranching.....	650	100.0	6.5	19.4	22.1	19.1	19.1	13.8
VILLAGE								
All areas ²	22,706	100.0	7.4	21.8	22.0	21.7	15.9	11.2
Eastern Cotton.....	2,728	100.0	7.4	21.7	23.6	23.8	15.5	8.0
Western Cotton.....	2,582	100.0	9.5	21.8	21.8	19.0	13.0	14.9
Appalachian-Ozark.....	4,950	100.0	8.6	21.0	21.4	23.9	16.5	8.6
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,296	100.0	8.0	24.0	18.2	19.1	15.7	15.0
Hay and Dairy.....	3,598	100.0	5.8	19.9	21.6	23.1	15.6	14.0
Corn Belt.....	4,710	100.0	5.8	22.4	22.7	21.0	17.9	10.2
Spring Wheat.....	958	100.0	8.1	24.7	23.9	19.4	13.4	10.5
Winter Wheat.....	618	100.0	8.7	26.2	21.4	20.4	14.9	8.4
Ranching.....	1,236	100.0	7.8	22.3	22.8	17.0	16.2	13.9

¹ Exclusive of heads of families whose age was unknown.² Exclusive of New England.**Table 4.—Age of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Usual Occupation, June 1935**

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Usual occupation	Total ¹		Age in years				
	Number	Percent	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
Total.....	52,938	100.0	8.8	26.6	25.6	23.4	15.6
Agriculture.....	25,522	100.0	9.1	27.2	24.7	22.9	16.1
Farm operator.....	18,421	100.0	7.2	25.6	25.5	24.6	17.1
Owner.....	6,692	100.0	4.0	14.1	25.1	30.9	25.9
Tenant.....	9,705	100.0	8.8	32.2	26.1	21.4	11.5
Cropper ²	2,024	100.0	9.8	32.0	24.0	19.7	14.5
Farm laborer.....	7,101	100.0	14.2	31.5	22.5	18.3	13.5
Nonagriculture.....	25,871	100.0	7.8	26.3	26.5	24.2	15.2
White collar.....	2,313	100.0	8.1	25.7	27.8	23.1	15.3
Skilled.....	3,799	100.0	3.2	21.5	27.5	30.0	17.8
Semiskilled.....	4,284	100.0	8.5	30.9	29.1	20.0	11.5
Unskilled.....	15,475	100.0	8.7	26.2	25.5	24.1	15.5
No usual occupation.....	1,545	100.0	22.1	21.9	23.3	18.6	14.1

¹ Exclusive of heads of families who were nonworkers or whose age was unknown.² In the 2 Cotton Areas.

Table 5.—Age of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief in the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas, by Color and Usual Occupation, June 1935

[44 counties]

Color and usual occupation	Total ¹		Age in years				
	Number	Percent	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
WHITE							
Total.....	9,014	100.0	10.6	29.3	24.7	21.4	14.0
Agriculture.....	5,502	100.0	10.9	28.2	23.6	22.1	15.2
Farm operator.....	3,562	100.0	9.0	27.0	23.4	23.9	16.7
Owner.....	604	100.0	3.6	11.9	19.5	33.2	31.8
Tenant.....	1,438	100.0	9.0	26.7	24.8	25.6	13.9
Cropper.....	1,520	100.0	11.2	33.0	23.7	18.7	13.4
Farm laborer.....	1,940	100.0	14.2	30.8	23.8	18.9	12.3
Nonagriculture.....	3,164	100.0	9.9	31.1	26.5	20.8	11.7
White collar.....	504	100.0	11.5	30.6	24.6	21.4	11.9
Skilled.....	472	100.0	4.2	25.8	27.5	28.9	13.6
Semiskilled.....	762	100.0	9.4	35.5	27.0	17.1	11.0
Unskilled.....	1,426	100.0	11.4	30.7	26.6	19.9	11.4
No usual occupation.....	348	100.0	13.2	28.2	25.9	15.5	17.2
NEGRO							
Total.....	3,192	100.0	8.8	25.1	25.4	23.3	17.4
Agriculture.....	2,114	100.0	8.1	24.8	25.2	23.1	18.8
Farm operator.....	1,104	100.0	4.3	25.4	24.1	25.7	20.5
Owner.....	154	100.0	1.3	13.0	20.8	35.0	29.9
Tenant.....	446	100.0	4.0	25.6	24.2	26.5	19.7
Cropper.....	504	100.0	5.6	28.9	25.0	22.6	17.9
Farm laborer.....	1,010	100.0	12.3	24.2	26.3	20.0	17.2
Nonagriculture.....	1,048	100.0	9.9	25.6	26.7	23.5	14.3
White collar.....	30	†	†	†	†	†	†
Skilled.....	48	†	†	†	†	†	†
Semiskilled.....	60	100.0	6.7	29.7	27.0	23.3	13.3
Unskilled.....	910	100.0	10.3	26.4	27.3	22.4	13.6
No usual occupation.....	30	†	†	†	†	†	†

† Percent not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases.

¹ Exclusive of heads of families who were nonworkers or whose age was unknown.

Table 6.—Sex of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence and Area, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Percent		
TOTAL RURAL				
All areas.....	62,831	100.0	85.6	14.4
Eastern Cotton.....	7,732	100.0	70.7	29.3
Western Cotton.....	7,268	100.0	82.7	17.3
Appalachian-Ozark.....	17,016	100.0	86.4	13.6
Lake States Cut-Over.....	3,814	100.0	90.9	9.1
Hay and Dairy.....	8,626	100.0	89.9	10.1
Corn Belt.....	7,512	100.0	89.7	10.3
Spring Wheat.....	3,374	100.0	92.8	7.2
Winter Wheat.....	1,288	100.0	91.6	8.4
Ranching.....	1,886	100.0	84.4	15.6
New England.....	4,315	100.0	86.6	13.4
OPEN COUNTRY				
All areas ¹	35,802	100.0	87.3	12.7
Eastern Cotton.....	5,002	100.0	71.2	28.8
Western Cotton.....	4,686	100.0	86.7	13.3
Appalachian-Ozark.....	12,066	100.0	87.7	12.3
Lake States Cut-Over.....	2,512	100.0	91.4	8.6
Hay and Dairy.....	5,028	100.0	91.9	8.1
Corn Belt.....	2,802	100.0	94.1	5.9
Spring Wheat.....	2,386	100.0	96.2	3.8
Winter Wheat.....	670	100.0	95.5	4.5
Ranching.....	650	100.0	88.6	11.4
VILLAGE				
All areas ¹	22,714	100.0	82.7	17.3
Eastern Cotton.....	2,730	100.0	69.6	30.4
Western Cotton.....	2,582	100.0	75.6	24.4
Appalachian-Ozark.....	4,950	100.0	83.3	16.7
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,302	100.0	89.9	10.1
Hay and Dairy.....	3,598	100.0	87.2	12.8
Corn Belt.....	4,710	100.0	87.1	12.9
Spring Wheat.....	988	100.0	84.6	15.4
Winter Wheat.....	618	100.0	87.4	12.6
Ranching.....	1,236	100.0	82.2	17.8

¹ Exclusive of New England.

Table 7.—Male Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence, Area, and Age, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total ¹		Age in years						Average ² age
	Number	Percent	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over	
TOTAL RURAL									
All areas.....	53,740	100.0	8.0	24.5	22.9	21.0	14.5	9.1	42.1
Eastern Cotton.....	5,462	100.0	8.2	24.9	21.5	20.3	15.1	10.0	42.4
Western Cotton.....	6,014	100.0	10.5	26.1	21.2	17.9	11.9	12.4	40.8
Appalachian-Ozark.....	14,704	100.0	9.7	26.1	23.2	20.7	14.2	6.1	40.6
Lake States Cut-Over.....	3,430	100.0	6.3	23.1	21.5	21.7	15.0	12.4	44.1
Hay and Dairy.....	7,756	100.0	6.2	21.5	23.7	23.3	14.3	11.0	43.9
Corn Belt.....	6,738	100.0	6.1	24.1	23.3	21.8	16.1	8.6	43.0
Spring Wheat.....	3,132	100.0	6.6	30.9	25.5	19.0	13.0	5.0	39.4
Winter Wheat.....	1,180	100.0	10.3	30.0	22.9	19.3	11.2	6.3	38.7
Ranching.....	1,592	100.0	7.5	23.1	23.4	18.2	15.5	12.3	42.8
New England.....	3,732	100.0	5.9	16.7	22.7	24.6	18.4	11.7	46.4
OPEN COUNTRY									
All areas ³	31,236	100.0	8.4	26.1	23.4	20.2	13.7	8.2	41.1
Eastern Cotton.....	3,562	100.0	8.3	25.2	20.1	18.9	15.6	11.9	42.7
Western Cotton.....	4,062	100.0	10.6	27.6	20.9	17.4	11.6	11.9	40.1
Appalachian-Ozark.....	10,580	100.0	9.9	27.7	24.0	19.5	13.6	5.3	39.7
Lake States Cut-Over.....	2,264	100.0	5.6	22.3	22.7	22.7	15.4	11.3	44.2
Hay and Dairy.....	4,620	100.0	6.4	21.4	25.1	23.4	14.1	9.6	43.3
Corn Belt.....	2,636	100.0	6.8	24.1	24.6	23.0	14.0	7.5	42.3
Spring Wheat.....	2,296	100.0	6.1	32.7	26.0	19.0	12.9	3.3	38.8
Winter Wheat.....	640	100.0	11.3	32.8	25.0	18.1	8.4	4.4	36.9
Ranching.....	576	100.0	6.6	20.1	24.4	18.7	17.4	12.8	44.0
VILLAGE									
All areas ³	18,772	100.0	7.7	23.4	22.0	21.6	15.1	10.2	43.1
Eastern Cotton.....	1,900	100.0	8.1	24.5	24.0	22.8	14.3	6.3	41.8
Western Cotton.....	1,952	100.0	10.1	23.0	21.9	19.1	12.5	13.4	42.2
Appalachian-Ozark.....	4,124	100.0	9.2	22.0	21.2	23.6	15.9	8.1	43.4
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,166	100.0	7.7	24.8	19.0	19.7	14.4	14.4	43.7
Hay and Dairy.....	3,136	100.0	5.9	21.6	21.9	23.2	14.5	12.9	44.8
Corn Belt.....	4,102	100.0	5.7	24.0	22.6	21.0	17.4	9.3	43.5
Spring Wheat.....	836	100.0	7.9	26.2	24.2	18.9	13.2	9.6	41.1
Winter Wheat.....	540	100.0	9.3	26.7	20.4	20.7	14.4	8.5	41.4
Ranching.....	1,016	100.0	8.1	24.8	22.8	17.9	14.4	12.0	42.0

¹ Exclusive of male heads of families whose age was unknown.

² Median.

³ Exclusive of New England.

Table 8.—Female Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence Area, and Age, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total †		Age in years						Average ² age
	Number	Percent	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over	
TOTAL RURAL									
All areas.....	9,037	100.0	5.8	15.3	22.1	22.3	20.1	14.4	47.5
Eastern Cotton.....	2,268	100.0	5.5	16.8	22.9	21.3	19.5	14.0	46.8
Western Cotton.....	1,252	100.0	5.3	20.8	20.9	17.6	15.0	20.4	46.2
Appalachian-Ozark.....	2,312	100.0	4.9	14.7	23.5	27.3	22.2	7.4	47.0
Lake States Cut-Over.....	346	100.0	9.8	14.5	14.5	19.7	23.0	18.5	50.2
Hay and Dairy.....	870	100.0	6.0	10.4	21.6	21.8	20.9	19.3	50.0
Corn Belt.....	774	100.0	7.8	12.1	21.4	21.2	20.7	16.8	48.6
Spring Wheat.....	242	100.0	7.4	17.4	16.5	29.8	18.2	10.7	47.4
Winter Wheat.....	108	100.0	3.7	25.9	27.8	14.8	22.2	5.6	41.8
Ranching.....	294	100.0	6.1	11.6	18.4	15.0	26.5	22.4	53.8
New England.....	571	100.0	5.3	11.9	24.8	21.9	19.3	16.8	48.2
OPEN COUNTRY									
All areas ³	4,532	100.0	5.3	16.5	21.9	22.5	20.8	13.0	47.3
Eastern Cotton.....	1,440	100.0	5.3	17.5	23.0	18.8	20.1	15.3	46.7
Western Cotton.....	622	100.0	3.2	23.5	20.6	16.1	15.4	21.2	46.3
Appalachian-Ozark.....	1,486	100.0	4.7	14.1	24.0	28.5	23.4	5.3	47.0
Lake States Cut-Over.....	216	100.0	9.3	13.0	16.7	23.0	20.4	17.6	49.3
Hay and Dairy.....	408	100.0	6.9	12.3	24.0	20.6	18.6	17.6	47.8
Corn Belt.....	166	100.0	10.8	14.5	15.7	21.6	19.3	18.1	48.7
Spring Wheat.....	90	100.0	4.4	20.0	6.7	42.3	24.4	2.2	49.0
Winter Wheat.....	30	†	—	†	†	†	†	—	—
Ranching.....	74	100.0	5.4	13.5	5.4	21.6	32.5	21.6	55.8
VILLAGE									
All areas ³	3,934	100.0	6.4	14.5	21.8	22.1	19.5	15.7	47.8
Eastern Cotton.....	828	100.0	5.8	15.5	22.7	25.8	18.4	11.8	46.8
Western Cotton.....	630	100.0	7.3	18.1	21.3	19.0	14.6	19.7	46.2
Appalachian-Ozark.....	826	100.0	5.3	15.7	22.5	25.2	19.9	11.4	47.1
Lake States Cut-Over.....	130	100.0	10.8	16.9	10.8	13.8	27.7	20.0	52.8
Hay and Dairy.....	462	100.0	5.2	8.7	19.5	22.9	22.9	20.8	51.8
Corn Belt.....	608	100.0	6.9	11.5	23.0	21.1	21.1	16.4	48.6
Spring Wheat.....	152	100.0	9.2	15.8	22.4	22.4	14.4	15.8	45.7
Winter Wheat.....	78	100.0	5.1	23.1	28.3	17.9	17.9	7.7	42.2
Ranching.....	220	100.0	6.4	10.9	22.7	12.7	24.6	22.7	52.4

† Percent not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases.

1 Exclusive of female heads of families whose age was unknown.

2 Median.

3 Exclusive of New England.

Table 9.—Marital Condition of Heads of Rural Families 16 Through 24 Years of Age Receiving General Relief, by Residence, Area, and Sex, October 1935

[138 counties and 83 New England townships †]

Residence and area	Both sexes						Male						Female								
	Total † Num- ber	Per- cent	Single	Mar- ried	Wid- owed	Di- vorced	Sepa- rated	Total		Wid- owed	Di- vorced	Sepa- rated	Total		Mar- ried	Wid- owed	Di- vorced	Sepa- rated			
								Num- ber	Per- cent				Num- ber	Per- cent					Num- ber	Per- cent	
TOTAL RURAL	3,816	100.0	24.5	69.3	1.9	0.8	3.5	3,334	100.0	21.4	78.2	0.2	0.6	482	100.0	46.9	7.1	13.3	6.6	26.1	
All areas.....	450	100.0	35.6	52.9	2.2	1.3	8.0	329	100.0	28.1	71.3	—	—	130	100.0	53.8	7.7	7.7	4.6	26.2	
Eastern Cotton.....	438	100.0	17.4	72.1	0.4	0.9	3.2	392	100.0	15.3	80.0	—	—	46	100.0	70.0	—	—	—	—	
Western Cotton.....	1,756	100.0	22.1	73.5	1.6	0.0	2.2	1,558	100.0	20.4	79.6	0.5	—	30	164	100.0	48.8	12.2	12.2	6.1	20.7
Appalachian-Orark.....	188	100.0	34.0	58.9	2.1	3.4	3.4	138	100.0	19.6	80.4	—	—	28	28	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Lake States Cut-Over.....	354	100.0	18.3	74.5	1.1	4.1	4.1	276	100.0	15.9	84.1	—	—	20	20	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Hay and Dairy.....	138	100.0	18.6	68.1	—	2.9	2.9	122	100.0	23.0	77.6	—	—	16	16	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Corn Belt.....	166	100.0	24.2	66.7	—	9.1	9.1	122	100.0	21.4	78.6	—	—	10	10	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Spring Wheat.....	138	100.0	24.2	66.7	—	4.3	4.3	78	100.0	17.9	82.1	—	—	14	14	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Winter Wheat.....	92	100.0	26.1	69.6	—	4.3	4.3	78	100.0	17.9	82.1	—	—	14	14	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Ranching.....	138	100.0	44.9	50.8	—	—	—	114	100.0	38.6	61.4	—	—	24	24	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
New England.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
OPEN COUNTRY	2,220	100.0	24.0	70.5	2.1	0.5	2.9	1,988	100.0	21.2	78.3	0.2	0.3	252	100.0	45.2	10.3	16.7	4.8	23.0	
All areas ‡.....	316	100.0	35.3	55.7	2.5	1.3	5.1	240	100.0	28.3	70.9	—	—	76	100.0	57.9	7.9	10.5	5.3	18.4	
Eastern Cotton.....	302	100.0	22.2	78.0	0.8	1.2	1.8	238	100.0	13.4	86.6	—	—	30	30	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Western Cotton.....	148	100.0	23.0	63.5	1.2	0.4	2.5	94	100.0	22.5	76.7	0.4	—	98	100.0	49.0	16.3	8.2	4.1	22.4	
Appalachian-Orark.....	194	100.0	16.5	77.3	—	4.1	4.1	174	100.0	20.9	79.1	—	—	20	20	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Lake States Cut-Over.....	166	100.0	16.1	80.9	2.1	2.1	4.1	122	100.0	16.1	83.9	—	—	2	2	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Hay and Dairy.....	78	100.0	30.8	66.6	—	—	2.6	68	100.0	23.5	76.5	—	—	10	10	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Corn Belt.....	32	100.0	30.8	66.6	—	—	—	32	100.0	30.8	66.6	—	—	2	2	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Spring Wheat.....	16	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	14	100.0	—	—	—	—	2	2	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Winter Wheat.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ranching.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
VILLAGE	1,458	100.0	23.6	68.9	1.8	1.4	4.3	1,252	100.0	20.0	79.7	0.3	—	206	100.0	45.6	3.9	10.7	9.7	30.1	
All areas ‡.....	134	100.0	35.8	46.3	1.5	1.4	4.3	80	100.0	27.5	72.5	—	—	54	100.0	48.2	7.4	3.7	3.7	37.0	
Eastern Cotton.....	110	100.0	32.7	52.7	7.3	0.8	1.7	94	100.0	33.3	61.7	—	—	16	16	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Western Cotton.....	714	100.0	17.0	77.4	2.2	0.8	1.7	648	100.0	14.8	84.6	0.6	—	66	66	100.0	48.4	6.1	18.2	9.1	18.2
Appalachian-Orark.....	40	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	24	100.0	—	—	—	—	8	8	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Lake States Cut-Over.....	160	100.0	25.0	72.5	—	—	2.5	152	100.0	23.7	76.3	—	—	8	8	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Hay and Dairy.....	130	100.0	24.6	67.7	—	6.2	6.2	112	100.0	21.4	78.6	—	—	18	18	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Corn Belt.....	60	100.0	26.7	70.0	—	—	3.3	54	100.0	22.2	77.8	—	—	6	6	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Spring Wheat.....	34	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	24	100.0	—	—	—	—	10	10	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Winter Wheat.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ranching.....	76	100.0	25.3	68.4	—	—	5.3	64	100.0	18.8	81.2	—	—	12	12	100.0	—	—	—	—	—

† Percent not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases.

‡ Townships in Connecticut and Massachusetts only.

§ Exclusive of heads of families whose marital condition or age was unknown.

¶ Exclusive of New England.

Table 10.—Marital Condition of Heads of Rural Families 25 Through 34 Years of Age Receiving General Relief, by Residence, Area, and Sex, October 1935

[188 counties and 83 New England townships 1]

Residence and area	Both sexes						Male						Female								
	Total †		Single	Mar-ried	Wid-owed	Di-voiced	Sepa-rated	Total		Single	Mar-ried	Wid-owed	Di-voiced	Sepa-rated	Total		Single	Mar-ried	Wid-owed	Di-voiced	Sepa-rated
	Num-ber	Per-cent						Num-ber	Per-cent						Num-ber	Per-cent					
TOTAL RURAL	11,174	100.0	8.8	80.5	4.9	1.1	4.7	9,756	100.0	7.6	90.9	0.6	0.2	0.7	1,418	100.0	16.5	9.4	34.6	7.1	32.4
All areas.....	1,148	100.0	9.6	65.3	12.0	0.9	12.2	764	100.0	7.3	90.3	2.1	—	0.3	384	100.0	14.1	15.6	31.8	2.6	35.9
Eastern Cotton.....	1,318	100.0	6.7	79.2	8.3	0.9	4.9	1,136	100.0	7.0	91.5	1.1	—	0.4	182	100.0	4.4	2.1	53.9	6.6	33.0
Appalachian-Ozark.....	4,538	100.0	7.2	84.0	4.4	1.1	3.3	4,054	100.0	5.9	92.9	0.2	0.3	0.7	484	100.0	18.2	9.9	39.2	7.9	24.8
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,598	100.0	10.7	78.6	4.0	0.7	6.0	530	100.0	11.3	87.1	0.8	—	0.8	68	100.0	5.9	11.8	29.4	5.9	47.0
Hay and Dairy.....	1,294	100.0	9.4	84.6	1.2	1.4	3.4	1,204	100.0	8.8	89.9	0.3	—	1.0	90	100.0	17.8	13.3	13.3	20.0	35.6
Corn Belt.....	702	100.0	10.5	74.8	2.0	1.4	6.3	624	100.0	7.7	89.5	0.6	0.6	1.6	78	100.0	33.3	2.6	12.8	7.7	43.6
Spring Wheat.....	602	100.0	7.0	87.1	2.7	0.3	2.3	574	100.0	7.3	91.3	0.7	—	0.7	28	100.0	†	†	†	†	†
Winter Wheat.....	238	100.0	11.8	81.3	2.5	3.4	0.8	222	100.0	9.9	87.4	—	2.7	—	16	100.0	†	—	†	†	†
Ranching.....	243	100.0	4.5	88.5	0.8	3.2	2.4	230	100.0	3.5	95.6	—	0.9	—	18	100.0	†	—	†	†	†
New England.....	483	100.0	21.7	68.5	4.1	0.4	5.3	415	100.0	13.6	73.9	0.5	—	—	70	100.0	34.3	—	25.7	2.9	37.1
OPEN COUNTRY	6,752	100.0	7.0	83.6	4.9	0.7	3.8	6,010	100.0	6.1	92.6	0.6	0.2	0.5	742	100.0	14.3	10.8	39.3	4.9	30.7
All areas ‡.....	840	100.0	8.8	67.7	12.1	0.7	10.7	572	100.0	7.0	90.9	2.1	—	—	268	100.0	12.7	17.9	33.6	2.2	33.6
Eastern Cotton.....	996	100.0	4.6	82.8	7.6	1.2	3.8	832	100.0	5.2	93.4	1.4	—	—	114	100.0	—	—	56.2	10.5	33.3
Appalachian-Ozark.....	2,910	100.0	6.7	85.8	4.3	0.5	2.7	2,632	100.0	5.4	93.7	0.2	0.2	0.5	278	100.0	18.7	10.1	43.2	4.3	23.7
Lake States Cut-Over.....	390	100.0	8.7	85.1	2.1	—	4.1	370	100.0	8.1	89.7	1.1	—	1.1	20	100.0	†	†	†	†	†
Hay and Dairy.....	758	100.0	6.9	89.9	1.1	—	2.1	724	100.0	6.1	93.3	—	—	—	32	100.0	†	†	†	†	†
Corn Belt.....	238	100.0	5.9	86.6	1.7	0.8	5.0	224	100.0	5.4	91.9	0.9	—	1.8	14	100.0	†	†	†	†	†
Spring Wheat.....	388	100.0	6.7	90.2	2.1	—	2.7	384	100.0	6.8	91.2	1.0	—	1.0	4	100.0	†	†	†	†	†
Winter Wheat.....	150	100.0	16.0	80.0	—	—	1.3	142	100.0	12.7	84.5	—	2.8	—	8	100.0	†	—	—	—	—
Ranching.....	84	100.0	4.8	85.1	—	—	—	80	100.0	5.0	92.5	—	2.5	—	4	100.0	†	—	—	—	—

VILLAGE	3,934	100.0	10.2	76.8	4.9	1.9	6.2	3,328	100.0	9.0	89.1	0.4	0.4	1.1	606	100.0	17.2	8.9	29.7	10.2	34.0
All areas †	3,934	100.0	10.2	76.8	4.9	1.9	6.2	3,328	100.0	9.0	89.1	0.4	0.4	1.1	606	100.0	17.2	8.9	29.7	10.2	34.0
Eastern Cotton.....	308	100.0	11.7	59.1	11.7	1.3	16.2	192	100.0	8.3	88.6	2.1	—	1.0	116	100.0	17.2	10.3	27.6	3.4	41.5
Western Cotton.....	322	100.0	13.0	68.3	10.6	—	8.1	254	100.0	13.4	85.0	—	—	1.6	68	100.0	11.8	5.9	49.9	—	32.4
Appalachian-Ozark.....	1,628	100.0	8.1	81.0	4.5	2.1	4.3	1,422	100.0	6.8	91.2	0.3	—	1.1	205	100.0	17.5	9.7	34.0	—	26.2
Lake States Cut-Over.....	209	100.0	14.4	66.4	7.7	1.9	9.6	160	100.0	18.8	81.2	—	—	—	48	100.0	—	†	†	†	†
Hay and Dairy.....	538	100.0	13.0	77.0	1.5	3.3	5.2	450	100.0	12.9	84.6	0.8	—	1.7	58	100.0	13.8	13.8	6.9	31.0	34.5
Corn Belt.....	404	100.0	12.9	76.3	2.2	1.7	6.9	400	100.0	9.0	88.0	0.5	—	1.5	64	100.0	37.5	3.1	12.5	6.3	40.6
Spring Wheat.....	214	100.0	9.3	81.4	3.7	0.9	4.7	190	100.0	8.4	91.6	—	—	—	24	100.0	†	—	†	†	†
Winter Wheat.....	88	100.0	4.5	84.2	6.8	4.5	—	80	100.0	5.0	92.5	—	—	—	8	100.0	†	—	†	†	†
Ranching.....	164	100.0	4.9	89.0	1.2	1.2	3.7	150	100.0	2.7	97.3	—	—	—	14	100.0	†	—	†	†	†

† Percent not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases.

‡ Townships in Connecticut and Massachusetts only.

§ Exclusive of heads of families whose marital condition or age was unknown.

¶ Exclusive of New England.

Table 11.—Marital Condition of Heads of Rural Families 35 Through 44 Years of Age Receiving General Relief, by Residence, Area, and Sex, October 1935

Residence and area	[138 counties and 83 New England townships !]																				
	Both sexes					Male					Female										
	Total ¹	Single	Married	Wid-owed	Divorced	Separated	Total	Single	Married	Wid-owed	Divorced	Separated	Total	Single	Married	Wid-owed	Divorced	Separated			
Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber			
TOTAL RURAL	10,874	100.0	6.3	77.1	10.3	1.5	4.8	9,178	100.0	5.7	86.8	2.5	0.6	1.4	1,696	100.0	9.2	8.8	52.4	6.4	23.2
ALL areas	1,130	100.0	5.3	64.9	20.0	0.2	9.6	746	100.0	2.7	90.8	4.6	—	1.9	384	100.0	10.4	14.6	50.0	0.5	24.5
Eastern Cotton.....	1,286	100.0	5.6	73.6	12.8	1.2	6.8	1,028	100.0	5.5	91.4	1.9	0.4	0.8	260	100.0	6.2	3.1	55.3	4.6	30.8
Western Cotton.....	3,970	100.0	5.2	80.0	10.7	0.7	3.4	3,446	100.0	4.8	90.6	2.8	0.2	1.6	524	100.0	7.6	10.3	62.6	4.2	15.3
Appalachian-Ozark.....	656	100.0	10.7	78.0	4.9	0.9	5.5	608	100.0	11.5	83.6	1.3	1.0	2.6	48	100.0	14.1	10.9	41.3	7.0	26.1
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,428	100.0	9.0	78.5	6.2	1.3	5.0	1,244	100.0	6.2	88.6	1.0	0.3	1.9	184	100.0	9.8	—	33.3	29.4	27.3
Hay and Dairy.....	728	100.0	3.2	78.6	6.0	0.5	4.4	628	100.0	4.8	90.3	1.0	0.6	0.6	102	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Corn Belt.....	1,728	100.0	3.5	86.7	5.8	2.2	5.4	1,574	100.0	3.9	89.7	1.3	0.7	0.4	22	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Spring Wheat.....	372	100.0	1.2	83.7	4.8	1.8	3.2	304	100.0	1.3	84.7	1.3	2.0	—	46	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Winter Wheat.....	246	100.0	3.3	73.8	9.2	7.5	4.2	190	100.0	3.9	89.3	2.9	3.0	—	36	100.0	22.2	1.9	51.8	7.4	16.7
Ranching.....	722	100.0	9.1	74.3	11.1	2.2	3.3	614	100.0	6.8	87.0	3.9	1.3	1.0	108	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
NEW ENGLAND	722	100.0	9.1	74.3	11.1	2.2	3.3	614	100.0	6.8	87.0	3.9	1.3	1.0	108	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
OPEN COUNTRY	6,234	100.0	5.4	80.1	9.0	0.8	4.7	5,382	100.0	5.1	91.0	2.1	0.4	1.4	852	100.0	7.5	10.8	53.0	3.3	25.4
ALL areas	790	100.0	3.8	68.4	19.7	0.3	7.5	548	100.0	1.8	92.7	5.1	—	0.4	242	100.0	8.3	13.2	52.9	0.8	24.8
Eastern Cotton.....	924	100.0	5.4	79.9	9.1	—	5.6	784	100.0	5.4	83.1	0.5	—	1.0	140	100.0	6.7	5.7	57.2	—	31.4
Western Cotton.....	2,472	100.0	4.4	81.0	10.4	1.0	3.2	2,136	100.0	3.8	91.8	2.6	0.3	1.5	336	100.0	8.3	12.5	59.5	5.4	14.3
Appalachian-Ozark.....	450	100.0	10.2	76.1	5.3	1.3	7.1	418	100.0	11.0	81.9	1.9	1.4	3.8	32	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Lake States Cut-Over.....	760	100.0	8.2	83.4	3.7	—	4.7	700	100.0	8.3	89.4	0.6	—	1.7	60	100.0	6.7	13.3	40.0	—	40.0
Hay and Dairy.....	304	100.0	5.9	82.9	2.6	3.3	5.3	276	100.0	5.1	91.4	1.4	0.7	1.4	28	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Corn Belt.....	350	100.0	4.9	91.4	1.7	0.6	1.7	344	100.0	4.7	93.0	1.7	0.6	—	6	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Spring Wheat.....	108	100.0	1.9	90.7	—	3.7	3.7	102	100.0	2.0	84.1	1.7	3.9	—	6	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Winter Wheat.....	76	100.0	3.3	86.9	2.6	2.6	2.6	74	100.0	5.4	89.2	2.7	2.7	—	2	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Ranching.....	76	100.0	3.3	86.9	2.6	2.6	2.6	74	100.0	5.4	89.2	2.7	2.7	—	2	100.0	—	—	—	—	—

VILLAGE	3, 918	100.0	7.1	73.1	12.0	2.4	5.4	3, 182	100.0	6.6	88.2	2.9	0.7	1.6	736	100.0	9.2	7.6	51.7	9.8	21.7
Eastern Cotton.....	340	100.0	8.8	57.1	20.6	—	13.5	198	100.0	5.1	85.8	3.0	—	6.1	142	100.0	14.1	16.9	45.1	—	23.9
Western Cotton.....	382	100.0	6.1	57.5	22.1	4.4	9.9	242	100.0	5.8	85.9	6.6	—	—	120	100.0	6.7	—	53.3	—	30.0
Apple Orchards.....	1, 498	100.0	6.4	78.4	11.2	0.3	3.7	1, 310	100.0	6.4	88.7	3.1	—	1.8	188	100.0	6.4	6.4	68.1	2.1	17.0
Apple States Cut-Over.....	1, 206	100.0	11.7	82.5	3.9	—	1.9	190	100.0	12.6	87.4	—	—	—	16	100.0	†	—	—	—	†
Hay and Dairy.....	668	100.0	9.9	73.0	9.0	2.7	5.4	544	100.0	8.1	87.5	1.5	0.7	2.2	124	100.0	17.7	9.7	41.9	11.3	19.4
Corn Belt.....	424	100.0	5.2	75.4	8.5	7.1	3.8	350	100.0	4.6	91.4	1.7	2.3	—	74	100.0	8.1	—	40.6	—	21.6
Spring Wheat.....	192	100.0	7.3	77.1	10.4	2.1	3.1	170	100.0	8.2	84.7	5.9	—	1.2	22	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Winter Wheat.....	64	100.0	—	71.9	15.6	9.4	3.1	48	100.0	—	—	†	—	—	16	100.0	—	—	—	—	†
Ranching.....	164	100.0	2.4	70.7	12.2	9.8	4.9	130	100.0	3.1	89.2	3.1	4.6	—	34	100.0	—	—	—	—	—

† Percent not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases.

1 Townships in Connecticut and Massachusetts only.

‡ Exclusive of heads of families whose marital condition or age was unknown.

‡ Exclusive of New England.

VILLAGE	6,102	100.0	9.6	64.9	19.5	1.5	4.5	4,808	100.0	9.9	78.7	7.8	1.2	2.4	1,294	100.0	8.2	13.8	63.0	2.8	12.2
All areas †	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Eastern Cotton.....	566	100.0	6.0	51.2	35.7	—	7.1	308	100.0	5.8	80.0	9.7	—	4.5	258	100.0	6.2	17.1	66.6	—	10.1
Western Cotton.....	582	100.0	10.0	54.2	30.6	—	5.2	394	100.0	10.7	77.1	11.2	—	1.0	188	100.0	8.5	6.4	71.3	—	13.8
Appalachian-Ozark.....	2,078	100.0	8.3	70.3	16.9	1.4	3.1	1,780	100.0	8.3	80.0	7.6	1.6	2.5	298	100.0	8.1	12.1	72.4	0.7	6.7
Lake States Out-Over.....	312	100.0	18.6	51.3	22.4	2.6	5.1	250	100.0	23.2	62.4	9.6	1.6	3.2	62	100.0	—	6.5	74.1	6.5	12.9
Hay and Dairy.....	1,178	100.0	12.2	68.0	11.5	2.0	6.3	974	100.0	12.3	77.0	6.6	0.8	3.3	204	100.0	11.8	24.5	35.3	7.8	20.6
Corn Belt.....	764	100.0	10.5	68.2	15.2	2.4	3.7	614	100.0	10.4	82.0	4.9	2.0	0.7	150	100.0	10.7	12.0	57.3	4.0	16.0
Spring Wheat.....	232	100.0	5.2	73.3	17.2	2.6	1.7	194	100.0	6.2	81.4	10.3	—	2.1	38	—	—	—	—	—	—
Winter Wheat.....	136	100.0	4.4	77.9	11.8	—	5.9	120	100.0	3.3	88.3	6.7	—	1.7	16	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ranching.....	234	100.0	7.9	55.1	31.5	2.4	3.1	174	100.0	6.9	79.4	10.3	2.3	1.1	80	100.0	10.0	2.5	77.5	—	7.5

† Percent not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases

‡ Townships in Connecticut and Massachusetts only.

§ Exclusive of heads of families whose marital condition or age was unknown.

¶ Exclusive of New England.

VILLAGE	2,080	100.0	12.1	44.4	38.0	2.1	3.4	1,572	100.0	15.1	58.4	22.5	1.8	2.2	538	100.0	2.8	1.2	85.8	3.1	7.1
All areas †	90	100.0	8.9	33.3	51.4	—	6.7	52	100.0	11.5	57.7	30.8	—	—	38	100.0	†	—	†	—	†
Eastern Cotton	348	100.0	10.3	43.0	33.8	0.8	2.3	234	100.0	14.5	63.3	28.0	—	1.6	103	100.0	†	—	96.0	—	4.0
Western Cotton	338	100.0	31	152.3	37.8	6.8	2.0	436	100.0	20.1	38.0	21.1	0.9	3.7	102	100.0	—	—	100.0	—	—
Appalachian-Ozark	106	100.0	21.2	30.3	37.3	6.3	6.1	188	100.0	25.3	38.0	20.1	5.1	2.5	40	100.0	—	—	†	—	†
Lake States	440	100.0	15.9	48.9	34.1	2.3	1.8	328	100.0	18.3	60.4	19.5	1.8	2.5	112	100.0	3.6	8.9	78.8	3.6	7.1
High Plains	300	100.0	9.3	45.4	38.0	4.0	3.3	232	100.0	11.2	58.6	23.3	4.3	2.6	168	100.0	2.9	—	88.3	2.9	5.9
Great Belt	50	100.0	16.0	56.0	16.0	4.0	8.0	36	100.0	†	†	†	—	—	14	100.0	—	—	†	—	†
Spring Wheat	28	100.0	†	†	†	†	—	22	100.0	†	†	†	—	—	6	100.0	—	—	†	—	†
Winter Wheat	98	100.0	10.2	32.7	46.9	4.1	6.1	60	100.0	10.7	53.3	23.3	—	6.7	38	100.0	—	—	†	—	†
Ranching																					

† Percent not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases.

‡ Townships in Connecticut and Massachusetts only.

§ Exclusive of heads of families whose marital condition or age was unknown.

¶ Exclusive of New England.

Table 14.—Marital Condition of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief in the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas, by Residence, Age, Sex, and Color, October 1935
[44 counties]

Residence and age	Both sexes						Male						Female								
	Total ¹		Single	Mar- ried	Wid- owed	Di- vorced	Sepa- rated	Total		Single	Mar- ried	Wid- owed	Di- vorced	Sepa- rated	Total		Single	Mar- ried	Wid- owed	Di- vorced	Sepa- rated
	Num- ber	Per- cent						Num- ber	Per- cent						Num- ber	Per- cent					
TOTAL RURAL	7,614	100.0	7.7	70.3	16.2	0.5	5.3	5,906	100.0	6.3	87.9	4.9	0.1	0.8	1,708	100.0	12.5	9.6	55.4	1.9	20.6
Total.....	684	100.0	22.2	66.6	4.4	1.5	5.3	548	100.0	18.2	81.4	—	—	0.4	136	100.0	33.1	7.4	22.1	7.4	25.0
16-24 years.....	1,884	100.0	8.2	75.1	9.1	0.6	7.0	1,592	100.0	7.2	91.4	—	—	0.4	392	100.0	12.2	9.2	41.8	3.1	33.7
25-34 years.....	1,892	100.0	4.3	73.8	14.5	0.7	6.7	1,452	100.0	3.3	93.2	2.2	0.3	0.4	440	100.0	7.7	9.5	55.0	2.3	25.5
35-44 years.....	2,410	100.0	6.6	67.8	21.8	—	3.8	1,804	100.0	4.5	86.4	7.6	—	1.5	606	100.0	12.5	12.5	64.1	—	10.9
45-64 years.....	644	100.0	5.3	57.4	35.1	0.6	1.6	510	100.0	5.9	72.5	20.4	0.8	0.4	134	100.0	3.0	—	91.0	—	6.0
65 years and over.....																					
OPEN COUNTRY	5,364	100.0	6.2	74.8	14.2	0.4	4.4	4,350	100.0	4.8	89.8	4.6	0.1	0.7	1,014	100.0	12.4	10.3	55.2	1.8	20.3
Total.....	516	100.0	19.8	71.2	3.9	1.6	3.5	436	100.0	16.5	83.0	—	—	0.5	80	100.0	37.5	7.5	25.0	10.0	20.0
16-24 years.....	1,510	100.0	6.6	78.4	8.7	0.5	5.8	1,242	100.0	5.6	93.1	1.3	—	—	298	100.0	11.1	9.7	43.4	3.0	32.8
25-34 years.....	1,350	100.0	3.0	79.4	12.7	0.2	4.7	1,100	100.0	2.6	95.1	1.8	—	0.5	250	100.0	4.8	10.4	60.8	0.8	23.2
35-44 years.....	1,600	100.0	3.0	72.0	19.5	—	3.5	1,256	100.0	2.2	95.1	8.1	—	1.6	344	100.0	15.1	13.4	61.0	—	10.5
45-64 years.....	388	100.0	3.1	60.8	32.5	1.0	2.6	316	100.0	3.2	74.6	20.3	1.3	0.6	72	100.0	2.8	—	86.1	—	11.1
65 years and over.....																					
VILLAGE	2,250	100.0	11.3	59.4	21.1	0.8	7.4	1,556	100.0	10.7	82.0	5.7	0.3	1.3	694	100.0	12.7	8.6	55.7	2.0	21.0
Total.....	168	100.0	20.8	52.3	6.0	1.2	10.7	112	100.0	25.0	75.0	—	—	—	66	100.0	39.3	7.1	17.9	3.6	32.1
16-24 years.....	474	100.0	13.1	65.5	10.1	0.8	10.5	350	100.0	12.6	85.7	—	—	1.7	124	100.0	14.5	8.1	38.7	3.2	35.5
25-34 years.....	642	100.0	7.8	59.8	18.8	2.2	11.4	352	100.0	5.7	87.5	3.4	1.1	2.3	190	100.0	11.6	8.4	47.4	4.2	28.4
35-44 years.....	810	100.0	9.6	59.5	20.4	—	4.5	548	100.0	9.9	82.5	6.5	—	1.1	292	100.0	9.2	11.4	67.9	—	11.5
45-64 years.....	256	100.0	8.6	52.3	33.1	—	—	194	100.0	10.3	69.1	20.6	—	—	62	100.0	3.2	—	96.8	—	—
65 years and over.....																					

WHITE

NEGRO

	2,430	100.0	10.4	49.6	30.1	0.7	9.2	1,500	100.0	12.0	73.5	12.1	—	2.4	930	100.0	7.7	11.0	59.2	1.9	20.2
TOTAL RURAL																					
Total.....	204	100.0	41.2	48.0	3.9	—	6.9	164	100.0	40.2	59.8	—	—	—	40	100.0	8.0	16.1	32.3	5.7	37.9
16-24 years.....	482	100.0	7.5	62.6	14.1	2.1	13.7	308	100.0	7.1	89.0	3.9	—	—	174	100.0	10.8	10.8	46.1	2.0	30.3
25-34 years.....	524	100.0	9.5	54.2	22.1	0.8	13.4	320	100.0	8.7	81.9	6.9	—	2.5	204	100.0	5.2	15.1	69.2	—	10.5
35-44 years.....	794	100.0	4.5	47.9	40.3	—	7.3	470	100.0	4.0	72.9	18.2	—	4.9	344	100.0	—	—	91.6	2.4	6.0
45-64 years.....	426	100.0	10.8	32.9	51.6	0.9	3.8	258	100.0	17.8	54.3	25.6	*	2.3	168	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
65 years and over.....																					
OPEN COUNTRY																					
Total.....	1,518	100.0	10.2	54.6	25.7	1.6	7.9	994	100.0	11.3	77.8	9.3	—	1.6	524	100.0	8.2	11.6	56.2	4.5	19.5
16-24 years.....	128	100.0	39.1	51.5	6.3	—	3.1	102	100.0	35.3	64.7	—	—	—	26	100.0	3.5	19.3	35.3	8.8	35.1
25-34 years.....	326	100.0	6.1	64.4	14.1	3.1	12.3	212	100.0	7.5	88.7	3.8	—	—	114	100.0	12.1	10.6	42.4	—	34.9
35-44 years.....	364	100.0	11.0	56.6	18.7	—	13.7	232	100.0	10.3	82.8	5.2	—	1.7	132	100.0	6.2	16.2	68.8	—	8.8
45-64 years.....	456	100.0	4.8	56.1	33.8	—	5.3	296	100.0	4.0	77.7	14.9	—	3.4	160	100.0	—	—	95.7	—	—
65 years and over.....	244	100.0	9.8	40.2	47.6	1.6	0.8	152	100.0	15.8	64.5	18.4	1.3	—	92	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
VILLAGE																					
Total.....	912	100.0	10.5	40.4	37.3	0.4	11.4	506	100.0	13.4	64.8	17.8	—	4.0	406	100.0	6.9	9.9	61.5	1.0	20.7
16-24 years.....	76	100.0	44.7	42.1	14.1	—	13.2	62	100.0	48.4	51.6	—	—	—	14	100.0	16.7	10.0	30.0	—	43.3
25-34 years.....	156	100.0	10.3	58.9	14.1	—	16.7	96	100.0	6.3	89.5	4.2	—	—	60	100.0	8.3	11.1	52.8	—	22.2
35-44 years.....	160	100.0	6.2	48.8	30.0	2.5	12.5	88	100.0	4.5	79.6	11.4	—	4.5	72	100.0	4.3	14.1	69.6	5.6	12.0
45-64 years.....	338	100.0	4.1	36.7	49.1	—	10.1	154	100.0	3.9	63.6	24.7	—	7.8	184	100.0	—	—	86.8	—	—
65 years and over.....	182	100.0	12.1	23.1	57.1	—	7.7	106	100.0	20.8	39.6	35.8	—	3.8	76	100.0	—	—	—	—	13.2

* Less than 0.05 percent.

† Percent not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases.

‡ Exclusive of heads of families whose marital condition or age was unknown.

Table 15.—Size of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence and Area, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total ¹		Number of persons in family					
	Number	Percent	1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8-9	10 or more
TOTAL RURAL								
All areas.....	62,809	100.0	9.9	33.3	28.9	16.8	7.8	3.3
Eastern Cotton.....	7,732	100.0	10.3	35.8	29.0	16.5	6.1	2.3
White.....	5,084	100.0	6.6	34.6	32.5	18.3	6.2	1.8
Negro.....	2,648	100.0	17.4	38.1	22.3	13.0	6.0	3.2
Western Cotton.....	7,268	100.0	8.7	35.3	30.0	16.0	7.3	2.7
White.....	5,432	100.0	5.5	36.1	32.2	16.4	7.4	2.4
Negro.....	1,836	100.0	18.1	32.8	23.7	14.8	7.0	3.6
Appalachian-Ozark.....	17,016	100.0	6.1	30.4	30.4	19.5	9.9	3.7
Lake States Cut-Over.....	3,792	100.0	21.8	29.8	24.2	13.2	7.8	3.2
Hay and Dairy.....	8,626	100.0	10.3	34.2	27.5	16.6	7.6	3.8
Corn Belt.....	7,512	100.0	8.8	36.6	30.4	15.2	6.4	2.6
Spring Wheat.....	3,374	100.0	8.3	28.8	26.8	18.7	10.2	7.2
Winter Wheat.....	1,288	100.0	6.8	35.7	33.5	15.7	6.4	1.9
Ranching.....	1,886	100.0	17.6	32.2	26.4	16.0	5.7	2.1
New England.....	4,315	100.0	15.1	35.5	26.6	14.0	6.0	2.8
OPEN COUNTRY								
All areas ²	35,782	100.0	7.5	30.4	29.9	18.8	9.3	4.1
Eastern Cotton.....	5,002	100.0	9.5	33.6	29.3	17.7	7.1	2.8
White.....	3,366	100.0	5.8	33.0	32.3	19.6	7.0	2.3
Negro.....	1,636	100.0	17.1	34.8	23.2	13.7	7.2	4.0
Western Cotton.....	4,686	100.0	7.1	32.7	31.5	17.7	8.0	3.0
White.....	3,510	100.0	4.2	33.8	33.2	18.0	8.1	2.7
Negro.....	1,176	100.0	15.8	29.3	26.4	16.7	7.7	4.1
Appalachian-Ozark.....	12,066	100.0	3.3	27.6	31.6	21.7	11.2	4.6
Lake States Cut-Over.....	2,492	100.0	21.2	29.8	24.2	12.6	8.6	3.6
Hay and Dairy.....	5,028	100.0	9.1	32.3	27.6	17.4	9.3	4.3
Corn Belt.....	2,802	100.0	6.1	32.8	32.8	18.0	7.6	2.7
Spring Wheat.....	2,386	100.0	7.3	26.2	26.5	20.0	11.0	9.0
Winter Wheat.....	670	100.0	4.8	31.0	35.8	17.9	7.2	3.3
Ranching.....	650	100.0	19.4	31.3	24.3	16.3	6.5	2.2
VILLAGE								
All areas ³	22,712	100.0	12.5	37.5	27.8	14.2	5.8	2.2
Eastern Cotton.....	2,730	100.0	11.6	40.0	28.4	14.4	4.4	1.2
White.....	1,718	100.0	8.0	37.7	32.8	15.9	4.7	0.9
Negro.....	1,012	100.0	17.8	43.7	20.8	11.9	4.0	1.8
Western Cotton.....	2,582	100.0	11.6	40.0	27.4	13.0	6.0	2.0
White.....	1,922	100.0	8.0	40.3	30.3	13.5	6.1	1.8
Negro.....	660	100.0	22.1	38.8	19.1	11.5	5.8	2.7
Appalachian-Ozark.....	4,950	100.0	12.9	37.0	27.5	14.1	6.8	1.7
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,300	100.0	22.9	30.1	24.0	14.5	6.2	2.3
Hay and Dairy.....	3,598	100.0	12.1	36.7	27.3	15.5	5.2	3.2
Corn Belt.....	4,710	100.0	10.4	39.0	28.9	13.5	5.6	2.6
Spring Wheat.....	988	100.0	10.7	34.8	27.7	15.7	8.3	2.8
Winter Wheat.....	618	100.0	9.1	40.7	31.1	13.3	5.5	0.3
Ranching.....	1,236	100.0	16.7	22.5	27.5	15.9	5.3	2.1

¹ Exclusive of families whose size was unknown.² Exclusive of New England.

Table 16.—Size of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Usual Occupation of Head, Area, and Color, June 1935

[138 counties ¹]

Usual occupation of head, area, and color	Total ²		Number of persons in family									
	Number	Percent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 or more
ALL AREAS												
Total.....	58,454	100.0	9.5	16.2	16.8	16.1	12.9	10.0	7.1	4.8	3.2	3.4
Agriculture.....	24,976	100.0	2.7	11.2	16.9	17.4	14.7	12.2	9.1	6.6	4.5	4.7
Farm operator.....	18,126	100.0	2.0	9.5	15.7	17.3	14.9	12.9	9.7	7.3	5.2	5.5
Owner.....	6,418	100.0	3.6	10.0	14.1	15.2	13.9	13.4	9.6	8.0	5.7	6.5
Tenant.....	9,684	100.0	1.2	8.4	15.9	18.3	15.7	12.8	10.0	7.2	5.2	5.3
Cropper.....	2,024	100.0	1.2	13.5	19.6	18.1	14.3	11.7	8.8	5.4	3.9	3.5
Farm laborer.....	6,850	100.0	4.4	15.7	20.3	17.8	14.0	10.4	7.5	4.7	2.6	2.6
Nonagriculture.....	23,136	100.0	7.4	14.8	18.4	18.0	14.0	10.4	6.9	4.3	2.7	3.1
No usual occupation or nonworker.....	10,342	100.0	30.6	31.6	13.5	9.4	6.0	3.6	2.4	1.5	0.8	0.6
EASTERN AND WESTERN COTTON AREAS—WHITE												
Total.....	10,512	100.0	6.0	17.5	18.0	18.1	14.2	10.8	6.5	4.4	2.4	2.1
Agriculture.....	5,502	100.0	1.3	12.4	17.1	19.2	16.5	12.8	8.6	5.8	3.3	3.0
Farm operator.....	3,562	100.0	0.8	10.9	17.5	20.2	15.8	12.7	8.5	6.1	3.8	3.7
Owner.....	604	100.0	2.6	12.9	14.6	22.6	18.3	13.2	7.9	2.3	2.6	3.0
Tenant.....	1,438	100.0	0.8	8.1	15.9	19.8	16.0	13.9	8.1	8.3	4.5	4.6
Cropper.....	1,520	100.0	0.1	12.8	20.3	19.3	14.6	11.4	9.1	5.5	3.7	3.2
Farm laborer.....	1,940	100.0	2.2	15.1	16.3	17.7	17.7	13.0	8.8	5.2	2.4	1.6
Nonagriculture.....	3,164	100.0	4.2	16.4	21.1	20.0	14.7	10.9	5.4	3.7	2.0	1.6
No usual occupation or nonworker.....	1,846	100.0	23.2	34.4	15.3	11.5	6.4	4.9	2.1	1.5	0.4	0.3
EASTERN AND WESTERN COTTON AREAS—NEGRO												
Total.....	4,484	100.0	17.7	20.8	16.3	13.3	9.5	7.9	5.8	3.7	2.7	3.3
Agriculture.....	2,114	100.0	4.8	14.1	17.0	16.7	12.3	10.6	8.8	5.7	4.0	6.0
Farm operator.....	1,104	100.0	2.7	11.2	15.3	15.3	13.9	12.9	9.2	7.2	5.6	6.7
Owner.....	154	100.0	3.9	11.7	15.5	14.3	13.0	14.3	7.8	6.5	6.5	6.5
Tenant.....	446	100.0	0.4	5.8	12.1	16.7	14.8	13.0	11.2	9.9	6.7	9.4
Cropper.....	504	100.0	4.4	15.8	17.8	14.3	13.5	12.3	7.9	5.2	4.4	4.4
Farm laborer.....	1,010	100.0	7.1	17.2	19.3	18.2	10.5	8.1	8.3	4.0	2.2	5.1
Nonagriculture.....	1,050	100.0	9.0	21.4	17.9	17.1	11.6	9.9	5.3	2.9	3.0	1.9
No usual occupation or nonworker.....	1,320	100.0	45.1	30.7	10.3	5.0	3.5	2.0	1.5	1.1	0.5	0.3

¹ Exclusive of New England townships.

² Exclusive of families whose size was unknown.

³ In the 2 Cotton Areas.

Table 17.—Age of Persons in Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence and Area, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total ¹		Age in years								
	Number	Per cent	Under 10	10-15	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over	
TOTAL RURAL											
All areas.....	270,506	100.0	26.2	16.7	16.3	11.9	9.8	8.2	5.6	5.3	
Eastern Cotton.....	31,870	100.0	25.8	16.7	15.6	11.9	9.4	7.9	5.9	6.8	
White.....	21,686	100.0	25.5	17.1	15.8	12.9	9.7	8.1	5.8	5.1	
Negro.....	9,984	100.0	26.9	15.8	15.4	9.6	8.7	7.4	5.9	10.3	
Western Cotton.....	30,556	100.0	26.4	16.4	16.7	12.5	9.3	7.4	5.1	6.2	
White.....	23,348	100.0	26.8	15.9	17.5	13.2	9.4	7.4	4.8	5.0	
Negro.....	7,208	100.0	26.1	17.9	14.1	10.0	8.8	7.2	5.9	10.0	
Appalachian-Ozark.....	79,508	100.0	27.3	17.4	17.2	11.8	9.2	7.6	5.1	4.4	
Lake States Cut-Over.....	14,586	100.0	23.7	16.3	17.3	12.2	9.6	8.9	6.1	5.9	
Hay and Dairy.....	37,004	100.0	27.2	16.8	14.9	10.6	10.7	8.9	5.6	5.3	
Corn Belt.....	31,130	100.0	25.1	15.4	15.6	12.5	10.3	9.2	6.5	5.4	
Spring Wheat.....	16,472	100.0	30.3	16.6	16.3	13.5	9.3	6.9	4.2	2.9	
Winter Wheat.....	5,388	100.0	24.9	15.4	18.3	14.1	11.0	7.5	4.9	3.9	
Ranching.....	7,322	100.0	27.9	15.7	15.1	12.0	9.6	7.3	6.4	6.0	
New England.....	16,870	100.0	21.0	16.7	16.3	9.7	11.2	10.7	7.7	6.7	
OPEN COUNTRY											
All areas ²	164,854	100.0	28.1	17.0	16.3	12.0	9.4	7.5	4.9	4.8	
Eastern Cotton.....	21,404	100.0	27.2	17.0	15.2	11.7	8.7	7.1	5.7	7.4	
White.....	14,874	100.0	27.2	17.1	15.1	13.1	8.9	7.5	5.7	5.4	
Negro.....	6,530	100.0	27.2	16.8	15.3	8.6	8.1	6.4	5.7	11.9	
Western Cotton.....	20,630	100.0	27.8	16.3	16.7	12.9	8.7	6.9	4.8	5.9	
White.....	15,696	100.0	28.1	15.8	17.5	13.7	8.8	6.8	4.5	4.8	
Negro.....	4,934	100.0	26.9	17.9	14.2	10.2	8.7	7.0	5.6	9.5	
Appalachian-Ozark.....	60,168	100.0	28.8	17.6	17.1	11.9	9.1	6.9	4.6	4.0	
Lake States Cut-Over.....	9,776	100.0	24.2	16.6	16.8	11.7	9.9	9.2	6.0	5.6	
Hay and Dairy.....	22,612	100.0	27.9	17.6	14.8	10.5	10.9	8.6	5.1	4.6	
Corn Belt.....	12,450	100.0	25.8	16.0	15.0	12.8	10.6	9.0	5.4	4.4	
Spring Wheat.....	12,274	100.0	31.6	16.5	16.4	14.0	9.0	6.8	3.7	2.0	
Winter Wheat.....	3,020	100.0	26.9	15.1	18.7	14.9	10.9	6.2	3.7	3.6	
Ranching.....	2,520	100.0	29.3	16.0	13.3	11.2	9.5	8.4	6.8	5.5	
VILLAGE											
All areas ²	88,782	100.0	24.2	16.0	16.3	11.9	10.1	9.0	6.5	6.0	
Eastern Cotton.....	10,266	100.0	23.1	16.0	16.7	12.2	10.9	9.4	6.2	5.5	
White.....	6,812	100.0	21.8	16.9	17.2	12.7	11.4	9.4	6.1	4.5	
Negro.....	3,454	100.0	26.0	14.1	15.7	11.3	9.8	9.3	6.4	7.4	
Western Cotton.....	9,926	100.0	23.6	16.6	16.7	11.7	10.4	8.3	5.8	6.9	
White.....	7,652	100.0	23.7	16.2	17.5	12.3	10.7	8.5	5.6	5.5	
Negro.....	2,274	100.0	23.7	17.9	14.0	9.7	9.1	7.7	6.6	11.3	
Appalachian-Ozark.....	19,340	100.0	22.8	16.9	17.2	11.7	9.5	9.7	6.7	5.5	
Lake States Cut-Over.....	4,810	100.0	22.7	15.9	18.4	13.3	9.0	8.1	6.3	6.3	
Hay and Dairy.....	14,392	100.0	25.8	15.7	15.0	10.8	10.5	9.4	6.3	6.5	
Corn Belt.....	18,680	100.0	24.5	15.1	15.4	12.3	10.1	9.3	7.2	6.1	
Spring Wheat.....	4,198	100.0	27.0	16.8	16.0	11.9	10.1	7.2	5.5	5.5	
Winter Wheat.....	2,368	100.0	22.7	15.7	17.8	13.0	11.1	9.1	6.3	4.3	
Ranching.....	4,802	100.0	27.2	15.5	16.1	12.5	9.6	6.7	6.2	6.2	

¹ Exclusive of persons whose age was unknown.² Exclusive of New England.

Table 18.—Sex of Persons in Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence and Area, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total ¹		Male	Female
	Number	Percent		
TOTAL RURAL				
All areas.....	270,752	100.0	50.9	49.1
Eastern Cotton.....	31,692	100.0	47.5	52.5
Western Cotton.....	30,566	100.0	49.8	50.2
Appalachian-Ozark.....	79,518	100.0	51.0	49.0
Lake States Cut-Over.....	14,682	100.0	55.5	44.5
Hay and Dairy.....	37,030	100.0	51.4	48.6
Corn Belt.....	31,134	100.0	51.5	48.5
Spring Wheat.....	16,482	100.0	51.3	48.7
Winter Wheat.....	5,388	100.0	50.7	49.3
Ranching.....	7,322	100.0	51.1	48.9
New England.....	16,938	100.0	52.2	47.8
OPEN COUNTRY				
All areas ²	164,970	100.0	51.3	48.7
Eastern Cotton.....	21,410	100.0	48.4	51.6
Western Cotton.....	20,636	100.0	50.3	49.7
Appalachian-Ozark.....	60,176	100.0	51.3	48.7
Lake States Cut-Over.....	9,860	100.0	55.7	44.3
Hay and Dairy.....	22,620	100.0	52.0	48.0
Corn Belt.....	12,452	100.0	52.9	47.1
Spring Wheat.....	12,276	100.0	52.2	47.8
Winter Wheat.....	3,020	100.0	51.5	48.5
Ranching.....	2,520	100.0	52.2	47.8
VILLAGE				
All areas ²	88,844	100.0	49.8	50.2
Eastern Cotton.....	10,282	100.0	45.8	54.2
Western Cotton.....	9,930	100.0	48.9	51.1
Appalachian-Ozark.....	19,342	100.0	50.1	49.9
Lake States Cut-Over.....	4,822	100.0	55.0	45.0
Hay and Dairy.....	14,410	100.0	50.4	49.6
Corn Belt.....	18,682	100.0	50.7	49.3
Spring Wheat.....	4,206	100.0	43.6	56.4
Winter Wheat.....	2,368	100.0	49.6	50.4
Ranching.....	4,802	100.0	50.5	49.5

¹ Exclusive of persons whose sex was unknown.² Exclusive of New England.

Table 19.—Rural Families Receiving General Relief With Persons in Dependent Age Groups, by Residence and Area, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total ¹		Children under 16 years only	Aged 65 years and over only	Children under 16 years and aged 65 years and over	No person under 16 years or 65 years and over
	Number	Percent				
TOTAL RURAL						
All areas.....	62,809	100.0	60.4	13.1	5.3	21.2
Eastern Cotton.....	7,732	100.0	57.1	14.2	8.1	20.6
White.....	5,084	100.0	62.6	10.8	6.3	20.3
Negro.....	2,648	100.0	46.5	20.7	11.6	21.2
Western Cotton.....	7,268	100.0	60.0	14.8	6.2	19.0
White.....	5,432	100.0	63.7	12.0	5.2	19.1
Negro.....	1,836	100.0	49.1	22.9	9.3	18.7
Appalachian-Ozark.....	17,016	100.0	66.0	10.1	6.3	17.6
Lake States Cut-Over.....	3,792	100.0	51.8	15.7	3.6	28.9
Hay and Dairy.....	8,626	100.0	60.6	14.3	4.0	21.1
Corn Belt.....	7,512	100.0	58.0	13.8	4.4	23.8
Spring Wheat.....	3,374	100.0	68.7	8.7	2.8	19.8
Winter Wheat.....	1,288	100.0	62.3	9.2	2.9	25.6
Ranching.....	1,886	100.0	58.2	16.4	3.2	22.2
New England.....	4,315	100.0	51.1	17.2	4.3	27.4
OPEN COUNTRY						
All areas ²	35,782	100.0	64.7	11.4	6.2	17.7
Eastern Cotton.....	5,002	100.0	58.6	15.2	9.5	16.7
White.....	3,366	100.0	64.7	11.2	7.0	17.1
Negro.....	1,636	100.0	46.0	23.5	14.7	15.8
Western Cotton.....	4,636	100.0	63.0	13.7	6.8	16.5
White.....	3,510	100.0	66.7	11.3	5.5	16.5
Negro.....	1,176	100.0	52.0	20.7	10.6	16.7
Appalachian-Ozark.....	12,066	100.0	70.2	9.0	7.0	13.8
Lake States Cut-Over.....	2,492	100.0	52.2	15.0	3.8	29.0
Hay and Dairy.....	5,028	100.0	63.9	12.4	4.2	19.5
Corn Belt.....	2,802	100.0	62.0	10.8	5.3	21.9
Spring Wheat.....	2,386	100.0	71.8	5.9	2.6	19.7
Winter Wheat.....	670	100.0	65.7	7.4	3.9	23.0
Ranching.....	650	100.0	59.1	15.4	3.4	22.1
VILLAGE						
All areas ²	22,712	100.0	55.6	15.0	4.2	25.2
Eastern Cotton.....	2,730	100.0	54.4	12.2	5.6	27.8
White.....	1,718	100.0	58.6	9.9	5.0	26.5
Negro.....	1,012	100.0	47.3	16.2	6.5	30.0
Western Cotton.....	2,582	100.0	54.6	16.8	5.3	23.3
White.....	1,922	100.0	58.3	13.4	4.7	23.6
Negro.....	660	100.0	43.9	26.7	7.0	22.4
Appalachian-Ozark.....	4,950	100.0	55.8	12.9	4.5	26.8
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,300	100.0	51.3	16.9	3.2	28.6
Hay and Dairy.....	3,598	100.0	55.9	16.9	3.7	23.5
Corn Belt.....	4,710	100.0	55.6	15.6	3.9	24.9
Spring Wheat.....	988	100.0	61.3	15.4	3.2	20.1
Winter Wheat.....	618	100.0	58.6	11.0	1.9	28.5
Ranching.....	1,236	100.0	57.8	17.0	3.1	22.1

¹ Exclusive of families for which age of members was unknown.² Exclusive of New England.

Table 20.—Structural Type of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Usual Occupation of Head, June 1935

[138 counties ¹]

Usual occupation	Total :		Normal families				Broken families				Nonfamily types					
	Num-ber	Percent	Husband and wife		Husband, wife, and children		Father and children		Mother and children		Male head		Female head			
			With- out others	With others	With- out others	With others	With- out others	With others	With- out others	With others	With- out others	With others	With- out others	With others		
Total.....	58,454	100.0	73.0	2.1	53.8	5.6	10.9	1.9	0.7	6.7	1.6	16.1	6.4	4.8	3.1	1.8
Agriculture.....	24,976	100.0	82.2	8.3	64.5	7.3	8.7	2.0	0.8	4.3	1.6	9.1	2.3	5.5	0.4	0.9
Farm operator.....	18,126	100.0	84.0	7.1	66.9	7.9	7.9	1.8	0.8	3.9	1.4	8.1	1.7	5.3	0.3	0.8
Owner.....	6,418	100.0	75.0	6.0	59.0	7.9	11.5	2.0	1.0	6.3	2.2	13.5	2.9	8.3	0.7	1.6
Tenant.....	9,684	100.0	89.9	7.2	72.8	8.1	5.0	1.5	0.6	2.1	0.8	5.1	1.1	3.6	0.1	0.3
Cropper ²	2,024	100.0	83.4	9.5	63.2	7.2	10.5	2.8	1.3	4.8	1.6	6.1	1.0	4.1	0.2	0.8
Farm laborer.....	6,850	100.0	77.8	11.5	58.5	5.7	10.5	2.3	0.6	5.6	2.0	11.7	3.7	6.1	0.7	1.2
Nonsgriculture.....	23,136	100.0	77.4	10.4	59.7	5.4	8.7	2.0	0.7	5.0	1.0	13.9	6.0	5.0	1.4	1.5
White collar.....	2,022	100.0	71.5	12.4	51.7	5.9	10.2	1.6	0.3	7.0	1.3	18.3	3.8	4.5	4.3	0.1
Skilled.....	3,260	100.0	88.0	10.3	70.3	5.7	3.2	2.5	0.6	0.1	1.1	8.5	4.2	4.3	0.2	0.1
Semiskilled.....	3,360	100.0	82.8	10.5	64.4	5.3	8.0	1.5	0.8	4.6	1.5	8.2	3.3	3.6	1.2	1.3
Unskilled.....	14,494	100.0	74.5	10.2	57.2	5.2	9.9	2.1	0.7	4.3	1.2	15.0	7.3	8.9	0.1	1.3
No usual occupation.....	1,414	100.0	20.9	5.8	12.6	1.8	50.9	0.1	0.3	43.3	7.6	28.2	3.8	8.9	0.1	6.4
Nonworker.....	8,928	100.0	43.6	24.5	14.1	1.9	16.8	1.7	0.5	12.0	2.6	39.6	18.4	1.7	14.1	4.4

¹ Exclusive of New England townships.
² Exclusive of families whose type was unknown.
³ In the 2 Cotton Areas.

Table 21.—Structural Type of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence and Area, June 1935
 [138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total ¹		Normal families				Broken families				Nonfamily types						
	Num-ber	Percent	Husband and wife		Husband, wife, and children		Father and children		Mother and children		Total		Male head		Female head		
			With out others	With others	With out others	With others	With out others	With others	With out others	With out others	With out others	With out others	With out others	With out others	With out others	With out others	
TOTAL RURAL																	
All areas.....	62,809	100.0	72.5	11.6	2.2	53.2	5.5	10.9	1.9	0.8	6.6	1.6	16.6	6.6	5.0	3.2	1.8
Eastern Cotton.....	7,732	100.0	62.6	11.0	3.1	41.4	7.1	19.0	2.0	0.7	11.8	4.5	18.4	4.6	3.8	5.7	4.3
White.....	5,984	100.0	68.8	10.5	2.2	49.2	6.9	17.7	2.2	0.8	11.3	3.4	13.5	3.3	3.9	3.3	3.0
Negro.....	2,648	100.0	50.7	12.1	4.7	26.5	7.4	21.4	1.7	0.5	12.6	6.6	27.9	6.9	3.8	10.5	6.7
Western Cotton.....	7,268	100.0	70.4	12.9	2.4	49.0	6.4	13.5	1.9	1.0	8.6	2.0	16.1	4.6	5.1	4.1	2.3
White.....	5,432	100.0	76.1	12.8	2.0	54.9	6.4	11.9	1.9	0.8	7.7	1.5	12.0	3.4	4.8	2.1	1.7
Negro.....	1,836	100.0	53.6	12.6	3.9	31.7	5.4	18.3	1.9	1.6	11.4	3.4	28.1	8.0	5.9	10.0	4.2
Appalachian-Ozark.....	17,016	100.0	76.5	10.1	2.4	57.4	6.6	10.7	2.0	0.8	6.3	1.6	12.8	4.4	5.1	1.7	1.6
Lake States Cut-Over.....	3,792	100.0	63.9	11.1	1.2	48.2	3.4	8.5	2.3	0.4	5.4	0.4	27.6	7.2	4.7	3.2	1.2
Hay and Dairy.....	8,626	100.0	76.0	12.5	1.7	57.3	4.5	7.7	1.6	0.5	5.0	0.6	16.3	5.9	5.2	3.0	1.3
Corn Belt.....	7,512	100.0	76.6	13.3	2.0	66.0	5.3	8.0	1.9	0.6	4.7	0.8	15.4	6.9	4.5	3.0	1.3
Spring Wheat.....	3,374	100.0	79.8	8.7	1.0	66.4	3.7	6.6	1.8	0.6	3.5	0.7	13.6	5.1	4.5	1.9	0.9
Winter Wheat.....	1,288	100.0	79.2	17.0	2.2	50.3	4.0	8.4	2.0	0.6	4.1	1.7	12.4	5.1	5.3	1.4	0.8
Ranching.....	1,866	100.0	67.2	12.0	1.6	50.8	2.8	9.3	1.5	0.1	6.9	0.8	23.7	12.2	7.0	4.1	1.8
New England.....	4,315	100.0	66.7	12.3	2.5	47.4	4.5	9.6	2.3	0.4	6.9	1.0	23.7	11.0	7.0	4.1	1.6
OPEN COUNTRY																	
All areas ¹	35,782	100.0	76.2	10.5	2.2	57.0	6.5	10.1	1.9	0.7	5.8	1.7	13.7	5.3	4.6	2.2	1.6
Eastern Cotton.....	5,002	100.0	64.1	10.5	3.1	42.5	8.0	18.7	1.8	0.7	11.3	4.9	17.2	4.3	3.7	5.3	3.9
White.....	3,365	100.0	70.8	10.3	2.0	51.1	7.4	17.2	2.1	0.9	10.5	3.7	12.0	3.4	3.9	2.4	2.5
Negro.....	1,636	100.0	50.2	10.9	5.4	24.7	9.2	21.9	1.2	0.4	12.8	7.5	27.9	6.1	3.9	11.1	6.8
Western Cotton.....	4,686	100.0	74.6	12.1	1.9	53.2	6.8	11.8	2.1	1.1	6.5	2.1	13.6	4.0	4.9	3.0	1.7
White.....	3,610	100.0	80.5	12.6	2.5	59.0	7.0	9.7	2.0	0.9	5.5	1.3	9.8	3.1	4.5	1.1	1.1
Negro.....	1,176	100.0	57.0	10.4	4.4	35.9	6.3	17.8	2.6	1.7	9.3	4.2	25.2	6.8	6.0	8.8	3.6

Appalachian-Ozark.....	12,066	100.0	80.5	8.9	2.4	61.9	7.3	9.8	1.8	0.9	5.6	1.5	9.7	2.2	4.9	1.1	1.5
Lake States Cut-Over.....	2,492	100.0	64.3	11.2	1.3	47.8	4.0	8.4	2.2	0.5	5.2	0.5	27.3	19.0	5.4	2.2	0.7
Hay and Dairy.....	5,028	100.0	78.3	11.7	1.9	59.3	5.4	7.0	1.7	0.5	4.3	0.5	14.7	6.8	4.6	2.2	1.1
Corn Belt.....	2,802	100.0	83.1	12.3	2.5	62.2	6.1	5.8	1.9	0.6	2.7	0.6	11.1	4.8	4.2	1.3	0.8
Spring Wheat.....	2,386	100.0	83.6	8.1	0.8	70.8	3.9	4.6	1.8	0.4	1.9	0.5	11.8	6.7	4.0	0.6	0.5
Winter Wheat.....	670	100.0	83.6	16.1	3.3	58.2	6.0	6.0	1.8	0.3	2.4	1.5	10.4	4.5	5.3	0.3	0.3
Ranching.....	650	100.0	67.4	11.1	1.5	51.4	3.4	7.4	1.9	0.3	4.9	0.3	25.2	15.1	4.3	4.3	1.5
VILLAGE																	
All areas ¹	22,712	100.0	67.9	13.2	2.0	48.5	4.2	12.2	2.0	0.5	8.1	1.6	19.9	8.1	5.1	4.5	2.2
Eastern Cotton.....	2,730	100.0	59.8	12.0	3.0	39.4	5.4	19.5	2.4	0.7	12.7	3.7	20.7	5.1	4.0	6.6	5.0
White.....	1,718	100.0	64.7	10.8	2.7	43.3	5.5	18.8	2.3	0.6	13.1	2.8	16.5	3.3	4.3	4.9	4.0
Negro.....	1,012	100.0	51.4	14.0	3.6	29.3	5.0	20.8	2.4	0.8	12.3	5.3	27.8	8.3	3.5	9.5	6.5
West Cotton.....	2,582	100.0	62.9	14.3	2.3	47.3	5.0	16.7	1.4	0.9	12.5	1.9	20.4	5.6	5.4	6.0	3.4
White.....	1,922	100.0	68.2	13.5	2.1	47.3	5.3	15.9	1.7	0.7	11.5	2.0	15.9	4.1	5.2	3.9	2.7
Negro.....	660	100.0	47.6	16.7	3.0	24.0	3.9	19.1	0.6	1.5	15.2	1.8	33.3	10.0	5.8	12.1	5.4
Appalachian-Ozark.....	4,950	100.0	66.7	13.1	2.3	46.7	4.6	12.9	2.5	0.5	8.2	1.7	20.4	9.7	5.6	3.2	1.9
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,300	100.0	63.1	10.9	1.0	49.2	2.0	8.6	2.5	0.1	5.5	0.5	28.3	19.8	4.5	3.1	0.9
Hay and Dairy.....	3,588	100.0	72.9	13.6	1.5	54.4	3.4	8.7	1.4	0.5	6.1	0.7	18.4	7.7	4.8	4.4	1.5
Corn Belt.....	4,710	100.0	72.8	14.0	1.7	52.3	4.8	9.3	1.9	0.5	5.9	1.0	17.9	6.5	5.8	4.0	1.6
Spring Wheat.....	988	100.0	70.7	10.1	1.6	55.9	3.1	11.3	1.8	1.0	7.3	1.2	18.0	6.1	5.7	4.6	1.6
Winter Wheat.....	618	100.0	74.4	19.4	1.0	52.1	1.9	11.0	2.3	1.0	5.8	1.9	14.6	5.8	5.2	3.3	0.3
Ranching.....	1,236	100.0	67.1	12.4	1.6	50.5	2.6	10.4	1.3	—	7.9	1.2	22.5	10.7	3.9	6.0	1.9

¹ Exclusive of families whose type was unknown.
² Exclusive of New England.

Table 22.—Structural Type of Rural Families Receiving General Relief in the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas, by Color and Usual Occupation of Head, June 1935
[44 counties]

Color and usual occupation of head	Total 1		Normal families				Broken families				Nonfamily types				
	Num-ber	Percent	Husband and wife		Husband, wife, and children		Father and children		Mother and children		Male head		Female head		
			With-out others	With others	With-out others	With others	With-out others	With others	With-out others	With others	With-out others	With others	With-out others	With others	
WHITE															
Total.....	10,512	100.0	11.8	2.1	6.6	14.8	2.0	0.8	9.5	2.5	12.7	3.4	4.3	2.7	2.3
Agriculture.....	5,502	100.0	8.8	1.9	8.5	11.7	2.4	1.1	6.2	2.0	7.4	1.1	4.9	0.3	1.1
Farm operator.....	3,502	100.0	7.8	2.0	4.0	10.0	2.2	1.2	4.8	1.9	6.4	0.6	4.4	0.3	1.1
Owner.....	3,604	100.0	6.8	0.7	43.5	18.7	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.3	14.9	1.2	7.3	1.3	5.0
Tenant.....	1,520	100.0	7.1	1.5	70.5	6.6	1.6	1.3	2.8	0.3	4.9	0.1	3.8	0.1	0.3
Cropper.....	1,438	100.0	8.9	2.9	67.8	9.4	3.4	1.1	4.1	0.8	4.3	0.1	5.8	0.2	1.2
Farm laborer.....	1,940	100.0	76.4	1.8	56.4	7.5	2.6	0.7	8.8	2.3	9.2	2.0	5.8	0.2	2.8
Nonaagriculture.....	3,164	100.0	74.5	10.7	6.3	13.3	1.6	0.4	9.3	2.0	26.6	3.2	6.0	2.3	9.1
White collar.....	1,504	100.0	58.3	1.2	38.9	6.7	0.8	0.8	11.5	2.8	12.2	2.0	5.1	2.3	2.8
Skilled.....	472	100.0	58.3	1.2	38.9	6.7	0.8	0.8	11.5	2.8	12.2	2.0	5.1	2.3	2.8
Semiskilled.....	762	100.0	89.9	3.4	67.8	8.1	0.4	0.8	10.5	3.1	8.9	3.0	5.5	—	0.4
Unskilled.....	1,426	100.0	77.0	8.7	57.8	6.6	2.1	0.6	10.9	1.7	16.7	2.0	5.0	1.5	2.2
No usual occupation.....	1,348	100.0	74.0	1.4	55.8	5.3	2.1	1.1	57.6	11.5	23.5	1.7	1.7	14.4	5.7
Nonworker.....	1,498	100.0	52.6	2.8	20.7	16.3	2.0	0.7	10.5	3.1	31.1	15.2	1.5	9.6	4.8
NEGRO															
Total.....	4,484	100.0	12.3	4.4	6.6	20.1	1.7	1.0	12.1	5.3	28.0	7.4	4.6	10.3	5.7
Agriculture.....	2,114	100.0	7.7	4.7	40.2	22.2	2.3	1.1	12.6	6.2	14.7	2.5	6.0	2.4	3.8
Farm operator.....	1,104	100.0	76.2	7.6	48.8	13.6	1.3	1.6	5.4	3.4	12.1	2.0	7.2	0.7	2.2
Owner.....	134	100.0	67.5	9.1	37.6	11.7	1.3	2.6	3.9	1.3	22.1	1.3	14.3	2.6	3.9
Tenant.....	446	100.0	80.9	2.7	51.2	9.8	1.3	0.9	4.0	3.6	9.3	0.6	7.6	—	1.3
Cropper.....	1,000	100.0	49.0	3.2	49.9	13.7	0.8	2.0	4.1	4.0	11.6	3.0	4.8	0.8	2.4
Farm laborer.....	1,050	100.0	54.6	4.2	33.2	33.7	3.4	0.6	26.1	8.3	11.8	3.0	4.6	4.2	3.5
Nonaagriculture.....	1,050	100.0	42.8	4.2	33.2	23.5	1.0	1.1	17.3	6.1	19.0	4.4	4.8	4.6	6.1
White collar.....	30	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Skilled.....	48	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Semiskilled.....	60	100.0	83.4	—	40.0	13.3	3.3	6.7	3.3	—	3.3	—	3.3	—	—
Unskilled.....	912	100.0	12.3	6.7	30.8	27.4	0.7	0.9	19.4	6.4	21.6	4.4	5.3	—	6.6
No usual occupation.....	30	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nonworker.....	1,790	100.0	19.4	4.0	6.2	11.7	1.6	0.6	6.2	3.3	56.7	18.0	2.5	27.5	8.7

† Percent not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases. † Exclusive of families whose type was unknown.

Table 23.—Rural 1-Person Families Receiving General Relief in the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas, by Residence, Color, Age, and Sex, June 1935

Residence, area, and color	All 1-person families										1-person families 65 years of age and over								
	Total			Male			Female			Total			Male			Female			
	Num- ber of families	Percent of all 1-person families	Num- ber of families	Percent of all 1-person families	Num- ber of families	Percent of all 1-person families	Num- ber of families	Percent of all 1-person families	Num- ber of families	Percent of all 1-person families	Num- ber of families	Percent of all 1-person families	Num- ber of families	Percent of all 1-person families	Num- ber of families	Percent of all 1-person families	Num- ber of families	Percent of all 1-person families	
TOTAL RURAL																			
Eastern Cotton.....	796	10.3	354	44.5	4.0	442	55.5	5.7	378	47.5	4.9	170	21.4	48.0	208	26.1	47.1		
White.....	336	6.6	170	50.6	3.3	166	49.4	3.3	110	32.7	2.2	66	19.6	38.8	44	13.1	26.5		
Negro.....	460	17.4	184	40.0	6.9	276	60.0	10.5	268	58.3	10.1	104	22.6	56.5	164	35.7	59.4		
Western Cotton.....	630	8.7	332	52.7	4.6	298	47.3	4.1	346	54.9	4.8	176	27.9	53.0	170	27.0	57.0		
White.....	300	5.5	186	62.0	3.4	114	38.0	2.1	148	49.3	2.7	100	33.3	53.8	48	16.0	42.1		
Negro.....	330	18.0	146	44.2	8.0	184	55.8	10.0	198	60.0	10.8	76	23.0	52.1	122	37.0	66.3		
OPEN COUNTRY																			
Eastern Cotton.....	476	9.5	214	45.0	4.3	262	55.0	5.2	266	55.9	5.3	128	26.9	59.8	138	29.0	52.7		
White.....	196	5.8	114	58.2	3.4	82	41.8	2.4	78	39.8	2.3	54	27.6	47.4	24	12.2	29.3		
Negro.....	280	17.1	100	35.7	6.1	180	64.3	11.0	188	67.1	11.5	74	25.4	74.0	114	40.7	63.5		
Western Cotton.....	330	7.0	188	57.0	4.0	142	43.0	3.0	178	53.9	3.8	94	28.5	50.0	84	25.3	49.2		
White.....	146	4.2	108	74.0	3.1	38	26.0	1.1	70	47.9	2.0	54	37.0	50.0	16	10.9	42.1		
Negro.....	184	15.6	80	43.5	6.8	104	56.5	8.8	108	58.7	9.2	40	21.7	50.0	68	37.0	65.4		
VILLAGE																			
Eastern Cotton.....	320	11.7	140	43.8	5.1	180	56.2	6.6	112	35.0	4.1	42	13.1	30.0	70	21.9	38.9		
White.....	130	5.7	66	49.3	3.3	64	60.0	4.8	32	22.0	1.9	12	8.6	21.4	20	14.3	23.8		
Negro.....	190	17.8	84	46.7	8.3	96	53.3	0.5	80	44.4	7.9	30	16.7	35.7	50	27.7	52.1		
Western Cotton.....	300	11.6	144	48.0	5.6	156	52.0	6.0	168	56.0	6.5	82	26.3	56.9	86	28.7	55.1		
White.....	154	8.0	78	50.6	4.1	76	49.4	3.9	78	50.6	4.1	46	29.9	59.0	32	20.7	42.1		
Negro.....	146	22.1	66	45.2	10.0	80	54.8	12.1	90	61.6	13.6	26	24.7	54.5	54	36.9	67.5		

[44 counties]

Table 24.—Employment Status of Workers¹ in Rural Families Receiving General Relief in the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas, by Color and Usual Occupation, June 1935

[44 counties]

Color and usual occupation	Total workers ²		Employed		Unemployed	Total employed workers		At usual occupation	At other than usual occupation
	Number	Per cent	Agriculture	Nonagriculture		Number	Per cent		
WHITE									
Total.....	13,902	100.0	30.1	6.8	63.1	5,130	100.0	88.4	11.6
Agriculture.....	8,118	100.0	49.7	1.7	48.6	4,176	100.0	91.7	8.3
Farm operator.....	3,644	100.0	67.4	2.5	30.1	2,546	100.0	89.9	10.1
Owner.....	622	100.0	86.9	0.6	12.5	544	100.0	97.8	2.2
Tenant.....	1,474	100.0	75.9	2.0	22.1	1,148	100.0	92.2	7.8
Cropper.....	1,548	100.0	51.5	3.7	44.8	854	100.0	82.0	18.0
Farm laborer.....	4,474	100.0	35.3	1.1	63.6	1,630	100.0	94.4	5.6
Nonagriculture.....	4,290	100.0	3.6	18.6	77.8	954	100.0	74.2	25.8
White collar.....	738	100.0	1.9	20.9	77.2	168	100.0	78.6	21.4
Skilled.....	532	100.0	6.4	17.3	76.3	126	100.0	46.0	54.0
Semiskilled.....	1,100	100.0	3.1	15.5	81.4	204	100.0	73.5	26.5
Unskilled.....	1,920	100.0	3.9	19.9	76.2	456	100.0	80.7	19.3
No usual occupation.....	1,494	100.0	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	—
NEGRO									
Total.....	5,486	100.0	34.1	10.4	55.5	2,444	100.0	95.5	4.5
Agriculture.....	3,616	100.0	51.3	0.8	47.9	1,884	100.0	95.6	4.4
Farm operator.....	1,130	100.0	74.2	0.7	25.1	846	100.0	94.1	5.9
Owner.....	156	100.0	88.4	2.6	9.0	142	100.0	94.4	5.6
Tenant.....	452	100.0	85.4	0.9	13.7	390	100.0	94.4	5.6
Cropper.....	522	100.0	60.2	—	39.8	314	100.0	93.6	6.4
Farm laborer.....	2,486	100.0	40.9	0.9	58.2	1,038	100.0	96.9	3.1
Nonagriculture.....	1,542	100.0	1.0	35.1	63.9	558	100.0	95.3	4.7
White collar.....	34	†	†	†	†	14	†	†	†
Skilled.....	54	100.0	3.7	14.8	81.5	10	†	†	†
Semiskilled.....	66	100.0	3.0	21.2	75.8	16	†	†	†
Unskilled.....	1,388	100.0	0.7	36.6	62.7	518	100.0	97.3	2.7
No usual occupation.....	328	100.0	0.6	—	99.4	2	†	†	†

† Percent not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases.

¹ Persons 16 through 64 years of age working or seeking work.² Exclusive of workers whose usual occupation or employment status was unknown.

Table 25.—Reason for Accession of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence and Area, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total ¹		Loss of employment ²	Loss or depletion of assets	Crop failure or loss of live-stock	Insufficient income	Became unemployable	Other reasons
	Number	Percent						
TOTAL RURAL								
All areas.....	62,829	100.0	24.6	33.6	13.6	12.4	5.2	10.6
Eastern Cotton.....	7,732	100.0	27.3	22.1	8.4	14.7	10.1	17.4
White.....	5,084	100.0	27.3	26.1	8.6	11.4	8.1	18.5
Negro.....	2,648	100.0	27.4	14.4	8.0	20.9	14.0	15.3
Western Cotton.....	7,268	100.0	28.5	21.2	19.3	11.9	2.7	16.4
White.....	5,432	100.0	28.9	23.2	19.9	11.3	2.5	14.2
Negro.....	1,836	100.0	27.5	15.5	17.4	13.5	3.3	22.8
Appalachian-Ozark.....	17,016	100.0	14.1	48.6	10.7	11.5	5.5	9.6
Lake States Cut-Over.....	3,814	100.0	27.2	34.2	8.9	10.9	5.1	13.7
Hay and Dairy.....	8,626	100.0	35.5	29.1	8.4	14.2	6.6	6.2
Corn Belt.....	7,512	100.0	30.2	30.1	13.2	14.3	1.8	10.4
Spring Wheat.....	3,374	100.0	13.6	14.8	59.4	5.0	4.8	2.4
Winter Wheat.....	1,283	100.0	18.0	33.3	22.4	12.0	2.5	11.8
Ranching.....	1,886	100.0	34.8	26.7	16.5	8.9	2.9	10.2
New England.....	4,313	100.0	26.2	48.9	0.2	14.5	6.0	4.2
OPEN COUNTRY								
All areas ³	35,802	100.0	17.7	31.7	22.1	13.1	4.7	10.7
Eastern Cotton.....	5,002	100.0	23.6	20.9	12.1	15.0	10.3	18.1
White.....	3,366	100.0	24.2	24.8	11.9	12.2	8.1	18.8
Negro.....	1,636	100.0	22.4	13.1	12.3	20.8	14.7	16.7
Western Cotton.....	4,686	100.0	22.4	20.9	28.3	10.3	2.0	16.1
White.....	3,510	100.0	22.4	22.1	29.1	10.1	1.7	14.6
Negro.....	1,176	100.0	22.3	17.2	26.0	10.9	3.2	20.4
Appalachian-Ozark.....	12,066	100.0	9.7	48.3	13.8	13.8	5.0	9.4
Lake States Cut-Over.....	2,512	100.0	20.4	37.4	12.7	12.9	3.9	12.7
Hay and Dairy.....	5,028	100.0	30.5	27.8	13.9	15.9	5.9	6.0
Corn Belt.....	2,802	100.0	21.3	21.1	31.9	16.8	1.0	7.9
Spring Wheat.....	2,386	100.0	4.4	8.4	81.4	2.4	1.5	1.9
Winter Wheat.....	670	100.0	9.3	23.6	39.7	12.5	1.5	13.4
Ranching.....	650	100.0	20.3	25.8	33.2	7.4	2.8	10.5
VILLAGE								
All areas ³	22,714	100.0	35.0	33.9	2.7	10.9	5.8	11.7
Eastern Cotton.....	2,730	100.0	34.2	24.2	1.7	14.1	9.7	16.1
White.....	1,718	100.0	33.2	28.9	2.1	10.0	7.9	17.9
Negro.....	1,012	100.0	35.7	16.4	1.0	21.1	12.8	13.0
Western Cotton.....	2,582	100.0	39.8	21.9	2.9	14.6	3.8	17.0
White.....	1,922	100.0	40.7	25.2	3.2	13.4	4.0	13.5
Negro.....	660	100.0	37.0	12.4	2.1	18.2	3.3	27.0
Appalachian-Ozark.....	4,950	100.0	24.9	49.2	3.2	5.9	6.8	10.0
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,302	100.0	39.9	27.5	1.4	6.9	7.4	16.9
Hay and Dairy.....	3,598	100.0	42.6	30.8	0.7	11.9	7.6	6.4
Corn Belt.....	4,710	100.0	35.5	35.6	2.0	12.8	2.3	11.8
Spring Wheat.....	983	100.0	35.8	30.2	6.5	11.1	7.9	8.5
Winter Wheat.....	618	100.0	27.5	44.0	3.6	11.3	3.6	10.0
Ranching.....	1,236	100.0	42.2	27.2	7.8	9.7	2.9	10.2

¹ Exclusive of cases for which reason for opening or reopening was unknown.

² Within 4 months prior to accession. For cases in which the worker lost his job more than 4 months prior to accession to relief, a more immediate reason for opening the case was given.

³ Exclusive of New England.

Table 26.—Relief History of Rural Families Receiving Relief, by Residence and Area, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total ¹		Continuously on relief February through June	Opened March-June	Reopened March-June
	Number	Percent			
TOTAL RURAL					
All areas.....	62,823	100.0	74.3	11.5	14.2
Eastern Cotton.....	7,728	100.0	66.6	14.4	19.0
White.....	5,080	100.0	62.5	17.4	20.1
Negro.....	2,648	100.0	74.5	8.8	16.7
Western Cotton.....	7,268	100.0	80.3	8.3	11.4
White.....	5,432	100.0	79.1	9.2	11.7
Negro.....	1,836	100.0	83.9	5.4	10.7
Appalachian-Ozark.....	17,016	100.0	71.8	11.2	17.0
Lake States Cut-Over.....	3,812	100.0	73.3	11.3	15.4
Hay and Dairy.....	8,626	100.0	79.3	10.9	9.8
Corn Belt.....	7,512	100.0	77.5	11.9	10.6
Spring Wheat.....	3,374	100.0	81.4	4.9	13.7
Winter Wheat.....	1,288	100.0	76.7	6.2	17.1
Ranching.....	1,886	100.0	70.0	12.3	17.7
New England.....	4,313	100.0	68.8	19.1	12.1
OPEN COUNTRY					
All areas ²	35,798	100.0	73.9	10.5	15.6
Eastern Cotton.....	5,000	100.0	66.5	12.8	20.7
White.....	3,364	100.0	62.1	15.4	22.5
Negro.....	1,636	100.0	75.3	7.7	17.0
Western Cotton.....	4,686	100.0	83.0	6.1	10.9
White.....	3,510	100.0	81.9	7.0	11.1
Negro.....	1,176	100.0	83.0	6.1	10.9
Appalachian-Ozark.....	12,066	100.0	70.1	10.9	19.0
Lake States Cut-Over.....	2,510	100.0	74.0	11.3	14.7
Hay and Dairy.....	5,028	100.0	79.7	11.2	9.1
Corn Belt.....	2,802	100.0	73.4	15.0	11.6
Spring Wheat.....	2,386	100.0	80.4	5.7	13.9
Winter Wheat.....	670	100.0	72.8	7.2	20.0
Ranching.....	650	100.0	70.6	11.8	17.6
VILLAGE					
All areas ²	22,712	100.0	76.0	11.5	12.5
Eastern Cotton.....	2,728	100.0	66.9	17.4	15.7
White.....	1,716	100.0	63.2	21.4	15.4
Negro.....	1,012	100.0	73.3	10.5	16.2
Western Cotton.....	2,582	100.0	75.4	12.2	12.4
White.....	1,922	100.0	74.0	13.2	12.8
Negro.....	660	100.0	79.7	9.1	11.2
Appalachian-Ozark.....	4,950	100.0	76.2	12.0	11.8
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,302	100.0	71.9	11.4	16.7
Hay and Dairy.....	3,598	100.0	75.8	10.4	10.8
Corn Belt.....	4,710	100.0	79.9	10.1	10.0
Spring Wheat.....	988	100.0	84.0	2.8	13.2
Winter Wheat.....	618	100.0	80.9	5.2	13.9
Ranching.....	1,236	100.0	69.7	12.6	17.7

¹ Exclusive of families whose relief history was unknown.² Exclusive of New England.

Table 27.—Average ¹ Amount of General Relief Received by Rural Families, by Residence, Area, and Type of Relief, June 1935

[138 counties and 83 New England townships ²]

Residence and area	Total ³		Work relief		Direct relief		Both work and direct relief	
	Number of families	Average amount of relief	Number of families	Average amount of relief	Number of families	Average amount of relief	Number of families	Average amount of relief
TOTAL RURAL								
All areas.....	57,827	\$17	27,117	\$18	22,440	\$13	8,270	\$25
Eastern Cotton.....	7,026	12	3,092	14	2,524	7	1,410	15
White.....	4,558	14	2,224	16	1,288	8	1,046	16
Negro.....	2,468	8	868	10	1,236	5	364	13
Western Cotton.....	6,892	10	3,616	11	2,408	7	868	14
White.....	5,152	11	2,942	11	1,510	7	700	15
Negro.....	1,740	8	674	10	898	6	168	12
Appalachian-Ozark.....	2,084	12	9,345	12	4,846	10	1,890	19
Lake States Cut-Over.....	3,533	23	654	24	2,118	18	766	36
Hay and Dairy.....	3,106	23	2,160	23	5,090	19	856	36
Corn Belt.....	6,944	18	3,344	19	2,774	14	826	30
Spring Wheat.....	3,180	22	1,552	19	640	14	988	30
Winter Wheat.....	1,212	16	762	15	226	13	224	24
Ranching.....	1,686	18	388	19	1,084	15	214	31
New England.....	3,159	37	2,201	41	730	21	228	55
OPEN COUNTRY								
All areas ⁴	33,476	15	15,950	14	12,838	12	4,688	23
Eastern Cotton.....	4,530	10	1,764	12	1,918	7	849	15
White.....	3,044	12	1,372	13	1,040	8	632	16
Negro.....	1,486	8	392	10	878	5	216	13
Western Cotton.....	4,480	10	2,340	11	1,604	7	536	14
White.....	3,352	10	1,920	11	1,010	7	422	15
Negro.....	1,128	8	420	10	594	6	114	13
Appalachian-Ozark.....	11,392	12	7,290	12	3,004	9	1,098	17
Lake States Cut-Over.....	2,318	22	412	22	1,408	17	498	34
Hay and Dairy.....	4,734	23	1,288	27	2,952	18	494	36
Corn Belt.....	2,533	17	1,296	16	964	15	278	29
Spring Wheat.....	2,264	21	1,028	17	458	13	778	30
Winter Wheat.....	628	14	424	13	108	13	96	19
Ranching.....	592	18	108	21	422	15	62	33
VILLAGE								
All areas ⁴	21,192	18	8,966	18	8,872	14	3,354	26
Eastern Cotton.....	2,496	14	1,328	17	606	7	562	16
White.....	1,514	18	852	20	248	9	414	17
Negro.....	982	9	476	10	358	5	148	13
Western Cotton.....	2,412	10	1,276	11	804	6	332	14
White.....	1,800	11	1,022	12	500	7	278	15
Negro.....	612	7	254	9	304	5	54	11
Appalachian-Ozark.....	4,692	14	2,058	13	1,842	13	792	23
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,220	25	242	26	710	19	268	41
Hay and Dairy.....	3,372	24	872	31	2,138	19	362	37
Corn Belt.....	4,406	19	2,048	21	1,810	14	548	30
Spring Wheat.....	916	24	524	23	182	15	210	33
Winter Wheat.....	584	18	338	17	118	13	128	27
Ranching.....	1,094	18	280	18	662	15	152	29

¹ Mean.

² Townships in Connecticut and Massachusetts only.

³ Exclusive of cases opened or reopened during the month and of cases for which type or amount of relief was unknown.

⁴ Exclusive of New England.

Table 28.—Amount of General Relief Received by Rural Families, by Residence and Area, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and area	Total ¹		Amount of relief						
	Number	Per cent	\$1-\$4	\$5-\$9	\$10-\$14	\$15-\$19	\$20-\$29	\$30-\$59	\$60 or more
TOTAL RURAL									
All areas.....	58,557	100.0	10.4	24.2	21.9	12.8	15.0	13.9	1.8
Eastern Cotton.....	7,026	100.0	20.2	29.6	25.5	11.6	7.6	5.0	0.5
White.....	4,558	100.0	13.5	27.4	27.8	12.9	10.1	7.5	0.8
Negro.....	2,468	100.0	32.8	33.3	21.3	9.2	3.0	0.4	—
Western Cotton.....	6,892	100.0	19.3	41.7	22.4	9.4	4.6	2.1	0.5
White.....	5,152	100.0	16.2	40.8	24.2	10.1	5.4	2.7	0.6
Negro.....	1,740	100.0	28.6	43.9	17.2	7.6	2.1	0.5	0.1
Appalachian-Ozark.....	16,084	100.0	11.7	31.7	28.8	12.1	10.9	4.4	0.4
Lake States Cut-Over.....	3,538	100.0	3.2	18.8	16.8	13.6	19.7	23.9	4.0
Hay and Dairy.....	8,106	100.0	3.9	13.3	14.9	14.8	24.0	26.8	2.3
Corn Belt.....	6,944	100.0	8.8	17.7	19.4	16.0	21.5	15.7	0.9
Spring Wheat.....	3,180	100.0	5.6	14.5	18.8	15.2	23.6	19.2	3.1
Winter Wheat.....	1,212	100.0	10.4	24.9	21.3	13.0	17.3	12.4	0.7
Ranching.....	1,686	100.0	2.5	13.2	29.7	19.3	23.6	10.6	1.1
New England.....	3,889	100.0	1.9	5.4	9.1	8.0	17.3	48.5	9.8
OPEN COUNTRY									
All areas ²	33,476	100.0	12.1	27.9	24.1	12.5	13.0	9.5	0.9
Eastern Cotton.....	4,530	100.0	23.2	31.3	24.5	11.2	6.8	2.8	0.2
White.....	3,044	100.0	16.4	30.3	28.3	12.1	8.7	3.9	0.3
Negro.....	1,486	100.0	37.2	33.5	16.8	9.2	2.8	0.5	—
Western Cotton.....	4,480	100.0	17.9	43.1	22.4	9.6	4.7	2.0	0.3
White.....	3,352	100.0	15.8	41.9	24.2	9.9	5.3	2.6	0.3
Negro.....	1,128	100.0	24.1	46.6	17.0	8.9	3.0	0.2	0.2
Appalachian-Ozark.....	11,392	100.0	12.0	33.3	31.0	11.7	8.5	3.2	0.3
Lake States Cut-Over.....	2,318	100.0	3.7	19.0	18.3	14.0	20.6	21.1	3.3
Hay and Dairy.....	4,734	100.0	4.1	13.6	15.8	14.9	24.3	25.3	2.0
Corn Belt.....	2,538	100.0	12.2	19.6	20.4	13.9	18.8	14.3	0.8
Spring Wheat.....	2,264	100.0	6.4	15.7	19.3	15.0	22.7	18.6	2.3
Winter Wheat.....	628	100.0	10.2	29.3	24.2	12.4	15.0	8.6	0.3
Ranching.....	592	100.0	2.4	13.8	25.0	20.3	26.7	10.8	1.0
VILLAGE									
All areas ²	21,192	100.0	9.4	22.1	20.7	14.1	17.6	14.5	1.6
Eastern Cotton.....	2,496	100.0	14.8	26.3	27.3	12.4	9.1	9.0	1.1
White.....	1,514	100.0	7.5	21.8	26.9	14.4	12.8	14.7	1.9
Negro.....	982	100.0	26.1	32.9	28.1	9.4	3.3	0.2	—
Western Cotton.....	2,412	100.0	22.1	38.8	22.5	9.0	4.3	2.4	0.9
White.....	1,800	100.0	17.0	38.9	24.0	10.3	5.7	2.9	1.2
Negro.....	612	100.0	36.9	39.0	17.6	5.2	0.3	1.0	—
Appalachian-Ozark.....	4,692	100.0	10.9	28.2	23.2	13.1	16.8	7.3	0.5
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,220	100.0	2.3	18.5	14.1	13.0	17.9	28.8	5.4
Hay and Dairy.....	3,372	100.0	3.6	12.9	13.8	14.7	23.4	28.8	2.8
Corn Belt.....	4,406	100.0	6.9	16.6	18.7	17.2	23.0	16.6	1.0
Spring Wheat.....	916	100.0	3.7	11.4	17.5	15.7	26.0	20.7	5.0
Winter Wheat.....	584	100.0	10.6	20.2	18.2	13.7	19.9	16.4	1.0
Ranching.....	1,094	100.0	2.6	12.8	32.4	18.8	21.9	10.4	1.1

¹ Exclusive of cases opened or reopened during the month and of cases for which amount of relief was unknown.² Exclusive of New England.

Table 29.—Length of Last Continuous Residence in County of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence and Usual Occupation, June 1935

[138 counties and 116 New England townships]

Residence and usual occupation	Total ¹		Years of last continuous residence in county						
	Number	Percent	1 or less	2-3	4-5	6-9	10-14	15-19	20 or more
TOTAL RURAL									
Total.....	62,256	100.0	3.4	5.7	5.1	10.2	8.1	8.2	59.3
Agriculture.....	25,296	100.0	3.5	5.6	5.0	9.2	6.7	6.8	63.2
Farm operator.....	18,277	100.0	3.0	4.6	4.3	7.8	6.1	7.0	67.2
Owner.....	6,646	100.0	1.0	2.8	3.1	5.9	6.0	7.6	73.6
Tenant.....	9,633	100.0	3.9	5.4	4.7	8.3	5.8	6.3	65.6
Cropper ²	1,998	100.0	5.5	7.2	6.8	11.7	8.2	7.8	52.8
Farm laborer.....	7,019	100.0	4.6	8.1	6.9	12.9	8.3	6.4	52.8
Nonagriculture.....	25,729	100.0	3.9	6.8	6.1	12.0	9.4	8.9	52.9
White collar.....	2,296	100.0	5.3	7.6	8.1	11.2	7.8	8.5	51.5
Skilled.....	3,770	100.0	3.7	8.5	8.8	13.8	9.5	8.4	47.3
Semiskilled.....	4,272	100.0	4.1	9.1	6.2	12.4	9.9	9.1	49.2
Unskilled.....	15,391	100.0	3.7	5.5	5.1	11.5	9.4	9.1	55.7
No usual occupation.....	1,638	100.0	2.2	4.3	3.6	8.7	9.0	11.9	60.3
Nonworker.....	9,693	100.0	2.3	3.5	3.0	8.4	8.1	9.1	65.6
OPEN COUNTRY ³									
Total.....	35,474	100.0	3.6	5.9	5.1	9.1	6.8	6.9	62.6
Agriculture.....	20,312	100.0	3.3	5.4	4.8	8.6	6.3	6.4	65.2
Farm operator.....	15,976	100.0	2.9	4.4	4.1	7.4	5.9	6.7	68.6
Owner.....	5,756	100.0	0.7	2.5	3.0	5.9	5.6	7.5	74.8
Tenant.....	8,534	100.0	3.8	5.1	4.3	7.8	5.6	6.0	67.4
Cropper ²	1,686	100.0	5.6	7.7	6.6	10.4	7.9	7.4	54.4
Farm laborer.....	4,336	100.0	5.1	9.0	7.3	13.0	8.0	5.6	52.0
Nonagriculture.....	9,798	100.0	4.6	8.1	7.0	11.0	8.0	7.2	54.1
White collar.....	604	100.0	7.3	9.3	12.6	12.9	8.3	8.3	41.3
Skilled.....	1,276	100.0	4.2	11.6	12.1	15.4	8.0	8.2	40.5
Semiskilled.....	1,474	100.0	6.0	12.6	7.6	10.7	7.3	7.3	48.5
Unskilled.....	6,444	100.0	4.2	6.2	5.3	10.0	8.1	7.0	59.2
No usual occupation.....	672	100.0	2.1	4.5	3.3	8.6	6.5	9.2	65.8
Nonworker.....	4,692	100.0	2.8	3.9	3.1	7.8	6.4	8.3	67.7
VILLAGE ³									
Total.....	22,550	100.0	3.5	5.9	5.3	11.7	9.1	9.5	55.0
Agriculture.....	4,440	100.0	4.3	6.8	6.5	11.6	7.6	8.0	55.2
Farm operator.....	2,008	100.0	4.7	6.5	6.4	10.4	6.5	8.6	56.9
Owner.....	618	100.0	4.2	4.9	3.6	4.2	4.5	6.8	71.8
Tenant.....	1,078	100.0	4.8	8.0	7.6	11.5	6.7	9.1	52.3
Cropper ²	312	100.0	5.1	4.5	7.7	18.6	9.6	10.3	44.2
Farm laborer.....	2,432	100.0	4.0	7.0	6.7	12.6	8.6	7.5	53.6
Nonagriculture.....	13,230	100.0	3.8	6.5	5.7	12.8	9.7	9.7	51.8
White collar.....	1,404	100.0	5.3	7.0	6.7	10.5	7.4	8.8	54.3
Skilled.....	1,966	100.0	3.8	7.8	7.4	13.1	10.2	8.0	49.7
Semiskilled.....	1,880	100.0	3.7	8.8	5.5	14.8	9.8	8.4	49.0
Unskilled.....	7,980	100.0	3.5	5.5	5.1	12.6	10.0	10.6	52.7
No usual occupation.....	736	100.0	2.7	4.1	4.1	7.9	10.9	14.9	55.4
Nonworker.....	4,144	100.0	1.8	3.3	2.9	9.1	8.7	9.7	64.5

¹ Exclusive of heads of families whose length of last continuous residence was unknown.² In the 2 Cotton Areas.³ Exclusive of New England.

Table 30.—Length of Last Continuous Residence in County of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief in the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas, by Color and Usual Occupation, June 1935

[44 counties]

Color and usual occupation	Total ¹		Years of last continuous residence in county						
	Number	Percent	1 or less	2-3	4-5	6-9	10-14	15-19	20 or more
WHITE									
Total.....	10,382	100.0	6.2	9.0	6.8	12.0	8.1	7.9	50.0
Agriculture.....	5,406	100.0	6.0	9.1	7.1	12.8	8.4	7.9	48.7
Farm operator.....	3,516	100.0	5.5	7.3	6.2	11.8	7.7	7.8	53.7
Owner.....	602	100.0	2.0	3.7	4.0	6.3	3.7	6.0	74.3
Tenant.....	1,418	100.0	5.6	7.8	6.1	13.3	8.5	8.7	50.0
Cropper.....	1,496	100.0	6.8	8.4	7.2	12.6	8.6	7.8	48.6
Farm laborer.....	1,890	100.0	7.0	12.3	8.7	14.7	9.6	7.9	39.8
Nonagriculture.....	3,142	100.0	8.0	9.8	7.8	12.3	8.1	7.3	46.2
White collar.....	502	100.0	8.4	5.2	6.4	10.0	7.6	9.2	53.2
Skilled.....	470	100.0	8.9	13.6	11.9	10.6	8.1	9.4	37.5
Semiskilled.....	760	100.0	7.4	11.8	5.5	12.9	8.7	7.9	45.8
Unskilled.....	1,410	100.0	7.8	9.1	8.1	13.3	8.1	6.8	46.8
No usual occupation.....	346	100.0	4.0	7.5	5.8	11.6	6.9	11.6	52.6
Nonworker.....	1,488	100.0	3.4	7.7	3.8	8.5	7.4	7.4	61.8
NEGRO									
Total.....	4,466	100.0	1.5	3.3	3.4	8.2	7.0	7.0	69.6
Agriculture.....	2,106	100.0	1.3	3.3	4.3	7.2	6.5	6.6	70.8
Farm operator.....	1,098	100.0	1.1	2.6	3.8	6.2	6.6	7.1	72.6
Owner.....	152	100.0	—	—	1.3	3.9	5.3	5.3	84.2
Tenant.....	444	100.0	0.9	2.3	2.7	3.6	6.3	6.8	77.4
Cropper.....	502	100.0	1.6	3.6	5.6	9.2	7.2	8.0	64.8
Farm laborer.....	1,008	100.0	1.6	4.2	4.8	8.3	6.3	6.2	68.6
Nonagriculture.....	1,044	100.0	1.9	4.6	3.3	11.5	10.2	7.1	61.4
White collar.....	30	†	†	—	†	†	†	†	†
Skilled.....	48	†	—	—	—	†	†	†	†
Semiskilled.....	60	100.0	—	3.3	—	10.0	10.0	3.3	73.4
Unskilled.....	906	100.0	2.0	5.1	3.1	11.7	9.5	7.1	61.5
No usual occupation.....	30	†	—	†	—	—	†	†	†
Nonworker.....	1,286	100.0	1.4	2.0	2.0	7.2	5.1	7.6	74.7

† Percent not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases.

¹ Exclusive of heads of families whose length of last continuous residence was unknown.

Table 31.—School Attainment of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence and Area, October 1935

[138 counties and 83 New England townships ¹]

Residence and area	Total ²		Last grade or year completed							
			Grade and high school					College		
	Number	Percent	None	1-3	4-7	8	9-11	12	1-3	4 or more
TOTAL RURAL										
All areas.....	40,234	100.0	8.8	13.8	42.0	24.5	7.4	2.5	0.8	0.2
Eastern Cotton.....	4,294	100.0	14.4	20.4	43.0	9.2	9.1	1.4	1.8	0.7
White.....	3,190	100.0	9.2	16.3	46.4	11.3	11.7	1.8	2.4	0.9
Negro.....	1,104	100.0	29.4	32.3	32.8	3.1	1.6	0.2	0.2	0.4
Western Cotton.....	4,610	100.0	6.4	12.1	51.1	17.5	10.8	1.3	0.7	0.1
White.....	3,728	100.0	5.4	10.7	50.6	19.6	11.5	1.5	0.6	0.1
Negro.....	882	100.0	10.9	17.7	53.8	8.4	7.7	0.5	1.0	—
Appalachian-Ozark.....	15,736	100.0	12.5	19.7	44.9	18.6	3.2	0.8	0.2	0.1
Lake States Cut-Over.....	2,422	100.0	9.8	12.1	36.2	27.1	10.8	3.3	0.7	—
Hay and Dairy.....	5,158	100.0	2.9	5.2	43.0	34.1	9.8	3.9	0.5	0.5
Corn Belt.....	2,724	100.0	2.4	5.4	33.8	41.1	9.8	6.2	1.0	0.3
Spring Wheat.....	1,952	100.0	5.2	7.4	31.8	42.2	7.9	4.3	1.2	—
Winter Wheat.....	790	100.0	2.8	6.3	32.7	41.7	10.9	4.6	1.0	—
Ranching.....	936	100.0	3.2	6.8	23.9	41.0	13.5	8.8	2.4	0.4
New England.....	1,582	100.0	3.8	4.6	29.3	39.8	12.8	7.3	2.4	—
OPEN COUNTRY										
All areas ³	23,530	100.0	10.7	15.1	44.3	22.0	5.8	1.5	0.4	0.2
Eastern Cotton.....	2,946	100.0	14.5	21.2	45.7	8.8	7.6	0.6	0.9	0.7
White.....	2,300	100.0	10.3	17.6	49.6	10.6	9.3	0.8	1.1	0.7
Negro.....	646	100.0	29.7	34.1	32.2	1.9	1.5	—	—	0.6
Western Cotton.....	3,250	100.0	6.5	12.4	52.2	17.4	9.8	1.1	0.5	0.1
White.....	2,640	100.0	5.5	11.0	51.8	19.0	10.8	1.2	0.5	0.2
Negro.....	610	100.0	10.5	18.3	53.7	10.5	5.6	0.7	0.7	—
Appalachian-Ozark.....	9,828	100.0	14.9	19.5	45.6	17.1	2.3	0.4	0.1	0.1
Lake States Cut-Over.....	1,684	100.0	10.3	13.3	36.5	26.2	10.0	2.9	0.8	—
Hay and Dairy.....	2,800	100.0	3.4	5.1	44.4	34.7	8.0	3.6	0.4	0.4
Corn Belt.....	958	100.0	4.4	6.3	37.8	39.6	7.1	4.4	0.4	—
Spring Wheat.....	1,292	100.0	4.3	8.4	32.4	45.3	6.2	2.6	0.8	—
Winter Wheat.....	472	100.0	4.2	7.6	33.9	38.7	11.4	3.4	0.8	—
Ranching.....	300	100.0	6.7	11.3	31.3	39.4	7.3	3.3	—	0.7
VILLAGE										
All areas ³	15,122	100.0	6.5	12.9	39.5	26.6	9.3	3.7	1.2	0.3
Eastern Cotton.....	1,348	100.0	14.1	18.7	36.5	10.4	12.5	3.0	3.9	0.9
White.....	890	100.0	6.5	13.0	38.0	13.3	18.0	4.3	5.6	1.3
Negro.....	458	100.0	28.8	29.7	34.2	4.8	1.7	0.4	0.4	—
Western Cotton.....	1,360	100.0	6.3	11.5	48.6	17.6	13.2	1.8	1.0	—
White.....	1,088	100.0	5.0	10.1	47.3	21.1	13.4	2.2	0.9	—
Negro.....	272	100.0	11.8	16.9	53.6	3.7	12.5	—	1.5	—
Appalachian-Ozark.....	5,908	100.0	8.4	19.9	43.9	21.2	4.6	1.5	0.4	0.1
Lake States Cut-Over.....	738	100.0	8.7	9.5	35.3	29.0	12.7	4.3	0.5	—
Hay and Dairy.....	2,358	100.0	2.4	5.3	41.4	33.5	11.9	4.2	0.8	0.5
Corn Belt.....	1,766	100.0	1.4	5.0	31.7	41.8	11.2	7.2	1.2	0.5
Spring Wheat.....	690	100.0	7.0	5.5	30.7	36.3	11.0	7.5	2.0	—
Winter Wheat.....	318	100.0	0.6	4.4	30.8	46.5	10.1	6.3	1.3	—
Ranching.....	636	100.0	1.6	4.7	20.4	41.8	16.4	11.3	3.5	0.3

¹ Townships in Connecticut and Massachusetts only.

² Exclusive of heads of families whose school attainment was unknown.

³ Exclusive of New England.

Table 32.—School Attainment of Heads of Rural Families Receiving General Relief, 16 Through 24 Years of Age, by Residence and Area, October 1935

[138 counties and 83 New England townships ¹]

Residence and area	Total		Last grade or year completed								
			Grade and high school					College			
	Number	Percent	None	1-3	4-7	8	9-11	12	1-3	4 or more	
TOTAL RURAL											
All areas.....	4,806	100.0	3.1	7.6	33.0	28.7	19.1	7.7	0.6	0.2	
Eastern Cotton.....	448	100.0	9.4	12.5	46.4	7.6	16.1	4.0	3.1	0.9	
Western Cotton.....	434	100.0	1.8	3.7	39.7	26.7	20.7	7.4	—	—	
Appalachian-Ozark.....	1,736	100.0	5.2	14.2	44.7	23.3	10.4	2.0	0.2	—	
Lake States Cut-Over.....	184	100.0	—	4.3	31.5	38.1	18.5	7.6	—	—	
Hay and Dairy.....	350	100.0	—	3.4	17.1	49.8	20.6	9.1	—	—	
Corn Belt.....	196	100.0	—	1.0	15.3	49.1	17.3	16.3	1.0	—	
Spring Wheat.....	138	100.0	—	2.9	34.8	42.1	7.2	11.6	1.4	—	
Winter Wheat.....	64	100.0	—	6.3	18.8	37.4	21.9	12.5	3.1	—	
Ranching.....	88	100.0	—	2.3	25.0	15.9	36.3	20.5	—	—	
New England.....	1,168	100.0	0.7	1.4	17.0	33.2	32.7	14.2	0.5	0.3	
OPEN COUNTRY											
All areas ²	2,188	100.0	5.1	9.7	43.1	26.2	12.1	3.1	0.5	0.2	
Eastern Cotton.....	314	100.0	10.8	10.8	47.8	7.6	18.5	1.9	1.3	1.3	
Western Cotton.....	324	100.0	2.5	4.3	39.5	28.4	20.4	4.9	—	—	
Appalachian-Ozark.....	1,022	100.0	6.8	13.1	52.7	19.6	6.8	0.6	0.4	—	
Lake States Cut-Over.....	144	110.0	—	5.6	29.2	37.5	20.8	6.9	—	—	
Hay and Dairy.....	194	100.0	—	6.2	20.6	56.7	10.3	6.2	—	—	
Corn Belt.....	66	100.0	—	—	12.1	69.7	9.1	9.1	—	—	
Spring Wheat.....	78	100.0	—	5.1	33.3	46.2	7.7	5.1	2.6	—	
Winter Wheat.....	30	†	—	†	†	†	—	†	—	—	
Ranching.....	16	†	—	—	—	—	—	†	—	—	
VILLAGES											
All areas ²	1,450	100.0	1.9	9.5	30.6	28.7	18.9	9.4	1.0	—	
Eastern Cotton.....	134	100.0	6.0	16.4	43.2	7.5	10.4	9.0	7.5	—	
Western Cotton.....	110	100.0	—	1.8	40.1	21.8	21.8	14.5	—	—	
Appalachian-Ozark.....	714	100.0	2.8	15.7	33.6	28.6	15.4	3.9	—	—	
Lake States Cut-Over.....	40	†	—	—	†	†	†	†	—	—	
Hay and Dairy.....	156	100.0	—	—	12.8	41.1	33.3	12.8	—	—	
Corn Belt.....	130	100.0	—	1.5	16.9	38.6	21.5	20.0	1.5	—	
Spring Wheat.....	60	100.0	—	—	36.7	36.7	6.7	19.9	—	—	
Winter Wheat.....	34	†	—	—	†	†	†	†	†	—	
Ranching.....	72	100.0	—	—	22.2	13.9	44.5	19.4	—	—	

† Percent not computed on a base of fewer than 50 cases.

¹Townships in Connecticut and Massachusetts only.²Exclusive of New England.

Table 33.—School Attendance of Children 7 Through 15 Years of Age in Rural Families Receiving General Relief, by Residence and Area, October 1935

[138 counties and 83 New England townships¹]

Residence and area	Total				7-9 years				10-13 years				14-15 years			
	Number	Percent	In school	Not in school	Total		In school	Not in school	Total		In school	Not in school	Total		In school	Not in school
					Number	Percent			Number	Percent			Number	Percent		
TOTAL RURAL	47,050	100.0	93.8	6.2	13,426	100.0	94.9	5.1	23,022	100.0	96.2	3.8	10,602	100.0	87.3	12.7
All areas.....	4,950	100.0	86.7	13.3	1,778	100.0	88.1	11.9	2,242	100.0	89.4	10.6	930	100.0	77.4	22.6
Eastern Cotton.....	5,942	100.0	93.2	6.8	2,102	100.0	91.4	8.6	2,663	100.0	96.4	3.6	1,172	100.0	83.1	16.9
Western Cotton.....	16,148	100.0	91.8	8.2	2,780	100.0	93.4	6.6	9,138	100.0	95.0	5.0	4,210	100.0	83.8	16.2
Appalachian-Ozark.....	2,774	100.0	87.0	13.0	878	100.0	98.6	1.4	1,286	100.0	93.2	6.8	600	100.0	97.6	2.4
Lake States Cut-Over.....	6,364	100.0	98.8	1.2	2,230	100.0	98.6	1.4	2,774	100.0	98.0	2.0	1,870	100.0	80.9	19.1
Hay and Dairy.....	3,116	100.0	97.2	2.8	1,034	100.0	99.2	0.8	1,994	100.0	98.7	1.3	585	100.0	77.9	22.1
Corn Belt.....	2,848	100.0	94.0	6.0	1,010	100.0	97.4	2.6	1,456	100.0	96.1	3.9	198	100.0	94.9	5.1
Spring Wheat.....	956	100.0	97.9	2.1	304	100.0	93.4	6.6	432	100.0	98.3	1.7	234	100.0	95.7	4.3
Winter Wheat.....	1,110	100.0	96.0	4.0	304	100.0	93.4	6.6	432	100.0	98.3	1.7	234	100.0	95.7	4.3
Ranching.....	2,862	100.0	93.0	7.0	903	100.0	100.0	—	1,314	100.0	99.8	0.2	640	100.0	95.6	4.4
New England.....	2,862	100.0	93.0	7.0	903	100.0	100.0	—	1,314	100.0	99.8	0.2	640	100.0	95.6	4.4
OPEN COUNTRY	27,888	100.0	91.8	8.2	7,018	100.0	93.0	7.0	14,388	100.0	94.9	5.1	6,492	100.0	83.6	16.4
All areas ²	3,808	100.0	84.7	15.3	1,400	100.0	87.3	12.7	1,730	100.0	87.5	12.5	678	100.0	72.0	28.0
Eastern Cotton.....	4,324	100.0	92.5	7.5	1,574	100.0	91.0	9.0	1,902	100.0	96.0	4.0	848	100.0	87.3	12.7
Western Cotton.....	9,868	100.0	89.8	10.2	632	100.0	97.0	3.0	6,356	100.0	93.9	6.1	2,880	100.0	81.2	18.8
Appalachian-Ozark.....	1,942	100.0	96.6	3.4	614	100.0	98.0	2.0	916	100.0	98.9	1.1	412	100.0	89.3	10.7
Lake States Cut-Over.....	3,708	100.0	98.7	1.3	1,326	100.0	98.5	1.5	1,592	100.0	99.4	0.6	790	100.0	97.5	2.5
Hay and Dairy.....	1,294	100.0	96.3	3.7	410	100.0	99.0	1.0	600	100.0	98.7	1.3	378	100.0	87.3	12.7
Corn Belt.....	1,946	100.0	92.2	7.8	706	100.0	96.9	3.1	862	100.0	98.1	1.9	384	100.0	89.8	10.2
Spring Wheat.....	1,608	100.0	98.7	1.3	208	100.0	99.0	1.0	294	100.0	100.0	—	136	100.0	95.6	4.4
Winter Wheat.....	400	100.0	90.5	9.5	148	100.0	82.4	17.6	166	100.0	96.4	3.6	86	100.0	93.0	7.0
Ranching.....	400	100.0	90.5	9.5	148	100.0	82.4	17.6	166	100.0	96.4	3.6	86	100.0	93.0	7.0

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